

INALIENABLE POSSESSION:

An aspect of the syntax of personal reference in Swahili

**Dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
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ABSTRACT

In a group of constructions in Swahili, the person ('possessor') and a part of the body or other thing intimately connected with them ('property') feature as two independent arguments of the verb rather than as components of a single noun phrase. The privileged treatment of parts of the body has been described in the literature as 'inalienable possession', and the verbal expression of the relationship as 'possessor raising'.

Previous treatments of the phenomenon in Swahili have concentrated on transitive constructions in which the possessor and property are respectively direct and oblique objects (*She grasped him [by the] shoulder*), and to a lesser extent on 'intransitive constructions' in which possessor and property are respectively subject and object (*She was swollen eyes*). The more common construction in which the property features as subject (*Eyes were swollen [for] her*) has been largely overlooked. Also considered are the 'auto-referential' constructions in which there is an implicit relationship between agent/possessor as subject and property as object (*He washed [his] hands*). We refer to these constructions collectively as 'affective'.

The dissertation takes a corpus of four Swahili novels by coastal authors and explores the different forms of construction involving possessor and property whether nominally or verbally related, and the factors that determine their choice. The frequency of these constructions proves very high especially in the description of physical and emotional conflict, and over 900 citations have been extracted.

In contrast to previous studies, we found that inalienable possessions extend to clothing on the body and emotions; that possessive constructions are widely used alongside affective constructions; and that the range of constructions identified in previous studies was unrepresentative.

Factors determining choice are subtle and individual, but involuntariness of action appears to favour affective constructions, while possessive constructions are more used when the agent or observer is detached. Other choices may be determined by discourse considerations such as topic switching and continuity.

Confronting affective and possessive constructions, we have found that affective constructions focus on the person rather than the property, and imply involuntariness. Other choices are influenced by discourse considerations such as topic switching and continuity within the narrative fabric.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND NOTATIONS:

Interlinear annotations

Tenses

perf (also <i>-mesha-</i> , <i>ka-</i>)	<i>-me-</i>	perfect tense
fut	<i>-ta-</i>	future tense
hab	<i>hu-</i>	habitual tense
pres	<i>-na-</i>	present tense
pst	<i>-li-</i>	past tense
sbsc	<i>-ka-</i>	subsecutive tense
inf	<i>ku-</i>	infinitive
cncm	<i>-ki-</i>	concomitant (also situative) tense
cond		conditional
opt/sjc	<i>-e</i>	optative/subjunctive
hort		hortative tense
imp		imperative

Extensions

appl	applicative extension
caus	causative extension
pass	passive extension
stat	stative extension
rc	reciprocal extension

Other verbal elements

1/2/3 etc.	class of subject
1ps	1st person singular
2ps	2 nd person singular
1pp	1st person plural
2pp	2 nd person plural
obj	object (followed by class or person)
refl	reflexive marker

cop	copula
rel	relative marker
neg	negative marker
bv	bivalent
ext	extensive

Nominal and pronominal elements

dem	demonstrative
poss	possessive
loc	locative

Other words

lnk	linker
prep	preposition
adjn	adjunct

Thematic/Syntactic structure

Thematic roles

ag	agent
pt	patient
pr	property
pr*	property with possessive pronoun or phrase
pr* x	property of x: the role at x may be realised as agent or patient
pr** x	property of x (where property has explicit possessive)
x	unknown possessor
pr:ag	property acting as agent
pr:nstr	property acting as instrument
pr=maneno property is <u>maneno</u> 'words'	
th	theme (used without distinction for roles that are neither animates nor properties nor quasi-adverbial)
bf/ben	beneficiary or dative
mnr	manner
pl	place
tm	time
cs	cause
nstr	instrument

idph ideophone

Syntactic structure (implied by position)

[*subject verb-object post-verbal arguments*]

[*topic, subject _ ...*] the first element is pre-sentential topic

[... <...> ...] the bracketed element is dislocated-preverbal adverb
or post-verbal subject

[... _ ...] underscore marks position of verb

[... _= ...] equal sign stands for reflexive verb

[... Ap ...] applicative verb
(or [... _ ... [V=Ap]]) etc.

[... Rc ...] reciprocal verb

[... Cs ...] causative verb

[... Ps ...] passive verb

[... Cp ...] copular

[... _ ... [phr. Vb]] phrasal verb – nominal element not separately shown
in analysis

Case marking

/k *kwa* ...

/l *kwenye* ... or ...- *ni*

/n *na* ...

/p prepositional phrase

phr phrasal

Text references

<text page. para> text refer to title of novel, page to page reference and
para to paragraph reference. Note paragraphs running
over a page break are referenced under the first page

<*> own data

Texts

d Dunia mti mkavu

s Siri ya sifuri

ny Nyota ya Rehema

u Utengano

r Rosa Mistika

Communicative structure (notations for Chapter 6)

↑	foreground specification
↑↑	foreground specification by topic
↓	background specification
⇐	background promotion
←	background promotion (temporary/local)
×	switch of foreground and background
$\alpha \beta$	references to foreground and background
$\alpha+$	plural foreground
$\beta \rightarrow$	cataphoric reference
$\alpha \beta$	references to property associated with foreground and background
$*\alpha$	property qualified by possessive
/ /	separates subject and object markers of verb
(...)	domain of verb of perception
[...]	text excluded from analysis

Text references

¶ n	paragraph n
◇ n	sentence n
◇ na	clause a within sentence n

Conventions in section 6.4

kifua [chake]	properties [and possessive]
<i>hasira ilimpanda</i>	properties and verbs in affective construction
aliku <u>shika</u> <u>kidevu</u>	properties with preceding object-marking

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Preview of dissertation

The area of concern of this dissertation is a group of constructions relating to personal reference in Swahili. These constructions generally involve a person affected (patient) and a part of the body or other thing intimately connected with them (property), featuring as two independent arguments of the verb rather than components of a single noun phrase. These constructions have been described collectively as 'inalienable possession' and the expressing of the relationship with the verb as 'possessor raising'.

These constructions were studied within a corpus of 4 Swahili novels which yielded over 900 relevant citations including standard constructions with possessive pronouns, referring to the body. The density of use (especially in situations of emotional conflict) permitted not only a study of the constructions in isolation but also of the factors influencing their selection in the context of the narrative.

In this introductory chapter we discuss very briefly the nominal and verbal systems in Swahili. We also describe the corpus used in the dissertation and the various syntactic and thematic roles distinguished as well as the abbreviations and notation used in the dissertation.

In chapter 2 we introduce inalienable possession in more detail and review the cross-linguistic treatment of the phenomenon moving on to previous treatments of Swahili data.

The following three chapters consider the three major construction types that we have referred to collectively as 'affective'.

Chapter 3 discusses the intransitive affective construction which involves a property and a possessor and an otherwise intransitive verb with the property as subject and the possessor as the object in its canonical form. This form, by far the most widespread in the corpus, has been largely overlooked in previous studies, which have concentrated on a variant superficially more comparable to English. The chapter goes on to discuss the variants of the construction and other constructions related to it.

Chapter 4 deals with the transitive affective constructions which involve agent or theme as subject, a patient as direct object and a property as secondary object with a transitive verb in its canonical form, and related constructions in which the property is locative-marked. We also discuss various constructions that bear a superficial resemblance to the construction.

In chapter 5 we look at what we have referred to as the auto-referential construction. In the canonical form of the construction the 'patient' which is also the instigator of the action features as subject and the property as the object of a transitive verb. The data clearly shows that claims that possessive pronouns are not associated with parts of the body are simplistic. We also discuss the construction's relationship to the other two affective constructions.

In chapter 6 we examine the use of affective constructions in the narrative continuum, discussing first the mechanisms for placing participants in the foreground and then referencing them using affective and other constructions. We also discuss the opposition of affective and possessive constructions.

The study reveals the considerable importance within the narrative of affective constructions of all types, including one which has previously been largely overlooked. Affective constructions are found to embrace not only parts of the body, but clothing and emotions. Examining these constructions in narrative contexts helps illuminate choices made and casts light on the structure and technique of narrative.

A classified ordering of citations extracted from the corpus that forms the basis of our analysis appears as an Appendix to the dissertation. (Occasional references directly to the Appendix are prefixed A-.)

1.2 Nominal system

Swahili nouns fall into a number of morpholexical categories or "classes" (in common with other Bantu languages), marked by characteristic concords in adjectives, pronouns and verbal affixes, and in most cases also by a characteristic prefix in the noun. Alternating prefixes and concords serve to distinguish singular and plural.

- | | | | |
|------|--|------|--|
| (1a) | m-tu m-vivu ¹
1-person 1-lazy
Lazy person | (1b) | wa-tu wa-vivu
2-people 2-lazy
Lazy people |
| (2a) | m-ti m-zuri
3-tree 3-nice
Nice tree | (2b) | mi-ti mi-zuri
4-tree 4-nice
Nice trees |
| (3a) | ki-ti ki-dogo
7-chair 7-small
Small chair | (3b) | vi-ti vi-dogo
8-chair 8-small
Small chairs |

Bantu noun classes are traditionally referred to by number; there are 11 noun classes in Swahili (1-11), a class used for verbal infinitives (15) and three locative concord classes (16-18). The markers of concord differ in some cases between nouns, adjectives, pronouns and verbs.

- (4) Yule mtu mfupi alifika jana <*>
1-**dem** 1-man 1-short 1**subj**-pst-arrive yesterday
That short man arrived yesterday.

The nouns of a particular class are characterised by the class concord prefix of its class that appears as a prefix preceding the root or stem of the noun for the non-locative classes and by suffixes for the locative classes. The subject (and sometimes the object) imposes concord on the verb, and the head of a noun phrase imposes concord on other elements of the noun phrase. Table (1.1) below illustrates the noun classes and the various concords that occur with them.

¹ For most of the examples of constructions cited in the dissertation, two glosses are given, the first one is an inter-linear translation of the individual constituents of the construction; this involves a combination of the English glosses of the nominals, verbs and other grammatical/syntactic categories represented by various abbreviations as in the examples above; the second gloss is the appropriate English translation.

In the interlinear glosses, nouns are preceded by a number representing their concord class, e.g. *jasho* 5-sweat, *moyo* 3-heart (animates are represented 1/2, eg. *vijana* 2-youth).

Adjectival and verbal subject concords are similarly shown, while other concord elements are shown by a category label followed by concord class e.g. *hicho* dem7. See page 8–11 for a comprehensive list of abbreviations.

Table 1.1

concord class	nominal concord	pronominal concord	demonstrative pronoun, e.g.	subject concord	object concord
1 (1 pers) (2 pers) (3 pers)	m- or ø	u-/wa-	huyu	ni- u- a-	-ni- -ku- -m-
2 (1 pers) (2 pers) (3 pers)	wa-	wa-/w-	hawa	tu- m- wa-	-tu- -wa- -wa-
3	m-	u-/w-	huu	u-	u-
4	mi-	i-/y-	hii	i-	i-
5	j(i)- or ø	li-/l-	hili	li-	li-
6	ma-	ya-/y-	haya	ya-	ya-
7	ki-	ki-/ch-	hiki	ki-	ki-
8	vi-	vi-/vy-	hivi	vi-	vi-
9	n-	i-/y-	hii	i-	i-
10	ny-	zi-/z-	hizi	zi-	zi-
11	u-	u-/w-	huu	u-	u-
15	ku-	ku-/kw-	huku	ku-	ku-
16		pa-/p-	hapa	pa-	pa-
17		ku-/kw-	huku	ku-	ku-
18		m-/mw-	humu	m-	m-

Nominal concord is used for nouns and also for many adjectives, as *-vitu* 'lazy' in (1), *-zuri* 'nice' in (2), *-dogo* 'small' in (3), and *-fupi* 'short' in (4).

Pronominal concord is used with *-ote* 'all', with genitive particle *-a* 'of', and (with exceptions in class 1) with *-enye* 'having', *-enyewe* 'oneself', and the remote demonstrative stem *-le* 'that' (respectively *mwenye*, *mwenyewe* and *yule* in class 1). Classes 1/2 generally denote human beings, though human beings also occur in other classes. Concords relating to animates (humans and animals) are generally in class 1/2 irrespective of the class of the noun prefix, e.g.

- (5) **Vijana** wawili walimpiga mwizi <*>
 2(8)-youth 2-two 2-pst-obj1-beat 1-thief
 The two youths beat the thief.

1.3 Verbal system

Verbs in Swahili have the typical structure:

Subj – Tense – [Obj] – Root – Suffix (varying with tense)

If the verb is negative, there is an additional element Neg. before the Subj, e.g. *ha-wa-toki* 'they do not go out', except in the subjunctive tense where the element Neg. appears after the Subj, e.g. *wa-si-toke* 'they should not go out'. The root + suffix together are often described as the stem.

Swahili has an extensive system of verbal derivation such that the element labelled Root above may be further analysed into a basic root and one or more suffixes or extensions. Their function is to modify the meaning of the verb. The various extensions include the applicative, causative, passive, stative, and reciprocal.

The applicative extension is represented by the suffix *-i-* but may also occur as *-e-*, *-li-*, or *-le-* according to the phonological structure of the verb in question.²

<i>Fik-a</i>	reach	<i>fik-i-a</i>	reach a person
<i>kimbi-a</i>	run (from)	<i>kimbi-li-a</i>	run to
<i>fungu-a</i>	open, unfasten	<i>fungu-li-a</i>	unfasten for someone/with something
<i>pelek-a</i>	send	<i>pelek-e-a</i>	send to
<i>pote-a</i>	get lost	<i>pote-le-a</i>	go to hell

It is not easy defining the meaning the applicative extension adds to the simple verb since it triggers various kinds of modifications to the meaning of the verb. There are some general interpretations of the applicative extension: it may express to do on behalf of or for the benefit or detriment of another.

- (6) Nilimpelekea barua rafiki yangu <*>
 1-pst-obj1-send-appl 9-letter 9/1 friend 9-poss1ps
 I sent my friend a letter.
- (7) Alimpikia chakula <*>
 1-pst-obj1-cook-appl 7-food
 She cooked him some food.
- (8) Chiku alimwibia pesa mwalimu wake <*>
 Chiku 1-pst-obj1-steal-appl 10-money 1-teacher 1-poss1
 Chiku stole money from her teacher.

The applicative extension may also express motion towards as in (9), or purpose as in (10).

- (9) Nimekukimbilia dada yangu <*>
 1-perf-obj2ps-run-appl 9-sister 9-poss1ps
 I have run to you my sister.
- (10) Ninataka kisu cha kukatia nyama <*>
 1ps-pres-want 7-knife 7-of inf-cut-appl 9-meat
 I want a knife for cutting meat.

The interesting thing about this extension is that it introduces an additional argument to the verb. This is usually an animate who represents the beneficiary of the action of the verb and it is normally marked in the verb. When based on a transitive verb, the applicative construction is ditransitive because of the additional argument the extension introduces. (see further Port 1981.)

The passive extension is *-w-*. It is optionally followed by the preposition *na* which plays a similar role to 'by' in the English passive. Most active/transitive verbs can have a passive counterpart as seen in the pairs of constructions below.

- (11) Mwanamke alimpiga mtoto <*>
 1-woman 1-pst-obj1-beat 1-child
 The woman beat the child.
- (12) Mtoto alipigwa na mwanamke <*>
 1-child 1-pst-beat-pass lnk 1-woman
 The child was beaten by the woman.
- (13) Moza alimpa Ahmed zawadi <*>
 Moza 1-pst-obj1-give Ahmed 9-gift
 Moza gave Ahmed a gift.
- (14) Ahmed alipewa zawadi na Moza <*>
 Ahmed 1-pst-give-pass 9-gift lnk Moza
 Ahmed was given a gift by Moza.

As seen from the above examples the passive extension triggers some changes in the structure of the original active construction. The direct object is promoted to subject position and the subject in turn is demoted to an oblique position, as it is introduced by *na* 'by'; the construction therefore loses its active properties and becomes passive.

² The applicative takes the form *-e-* (or *-le-*) if the preceding vowel is *-e-* or *-o-*; it takes the form *-li-* (or *-le-*) if the root ends in a vowel. For further details on the applicative extension see Port 1981.

phonological shape of the verb in question, but some suffixes are lexically determined, as in *ogopa* 'fear' > *ogofya* 'frighten'.⁴ Some causative verbs are formed from nouns or adjectives such as *lazima* 'necessity, must' > *lazim-isha* 'compel', and *safi* 'clean' > *safi-sha* 'make clean'.

The causative extension introduces an additional argument as subject, reducing the original subject to object; where the latter is impersonal, the 'causer' functions as agent e.g. *maji yanachemka* 'the water is boiling', *ninachemsha maji* 'I am boiling the water'; where the original subject is personal, it becomes patient or co-agent, e.g. *nimechelewa* 'I am late', *amenichelewesha* 'He has delayed me'.

The reciprocal extension *-ana* expresses 'to each other', it reciprocates the action of the verb as in *busu* 'kiss' > *busiana* 'kiss each other', *samehe* 'forgive' > *sameheana* 'forgive each other'. Ashton (1944:240) refers to it as the associative form since sometimes 'it expresses aspects of association such as concerted action, interaction and interdependence' as in *jua* 'know' > *juana* 'be mutually acquainted' and *ambata* 'adhere to' > *ambatana* 'adhere together'.

1.4 Transitivity and roles

There is a considerable literature on transitivity in Swahili and in the Bantu languages, notably Allen 1964, Whiteley 1968, Whiteley and Mganga 1969, Harries 1970, Hyman and Duranti 1982, Abdulaziz 1976/96.

Whiteley (1968: 12-13) notes that some verbs that have a following noun-phrase do not tolerate an object-marker in the verb, and further that different verbs tolerate different 'entailments' (i.e. rearrangements of their arguments to bring the post-verbal argument to subject position):

- those that permit no inversion e.g. (*mzee yule alikufa njaa* 'that man died of hunger' – these often prove to be phrasal verbs)
- verbs that permit passivisation e.g. (*mtoto huyu anapenda ndizi / ndizi zinapendwa na mtoto huyu* 'this child likes bananas / bananas are liked

⁴ There seem to be two basic forms of the causative extension; one form produces a palatalisation or spirantisation of the final consonant of the root; the other form *-ish-* (*-esh-*) is now more productive. Palatalisation of original *-l-* produces *-z-*, but *-l-* is subsequently lost before *a*, producing pairs like *tulia*

- by this child' – these generally also permit object-marking and are classically transitive)
- verbs whose arguments are simply interchangeable e.g. (*huyu atafaa kazi / kazi itamfaa huyu* 'he'll do for the job / the job will suit him' – we dispute the semantic equivalence of these, but see further 3.4.2)
 - verbs relating to container and contents, where the container takes a locative form when following the verb e.g. (*mto umejaa maji/ maji yamejaa mtoni* 'the river is full of water / the water has filled the river' – further discussed in 3.2.3)
 - verbs with locative object which may be inverted with locative concord on the verb e.g. (*mgeni wetu amefika nyumbani / nyumbani pamefika mgeni wetu* 'our guest has arrived home / at home there has arrived our guest' – briefly discussed in 3.4.2).

We have noted the special transitivity associated with *kujaa* 'fill/be filled' and use passivisation and object marking as standard tests of transitivity.

Abduaziz's treatment of transitivity (1976/96) considers the question of transitivity separately for verbs expressing four process types – material, mental, verbal and relational, using the terminology of systemic grammar. We have found it useful to follow his lead in describing separately the participant roles associated with verbs of perception (mental process verbs). His work is further discussed in 2.3.3, where we consider his concept of 'range'.

Although not committed to any theoretical model of linguistics we find it necessary and helpful to refer both to grammatical functions and to thematic (participant) roles.

In this section we describe the grammatical functions in Swahili (taking unmarked word order as frame of reference), and the thematic roles and notation used in the dissertation.

Subject (Subj) refers to the (normally) pre-verbal argument in concord with the verbal prefix.

Object (Obj) refers to the post-verbal argument which is potentially referenced in the verb by an object marker; the object is also capable of

'be quiet' > *tuliza* 'make calm/quieten', sometimes seen as a third realisation of the causative. See Ashton 1944:230-235 and for full discussion Scotton 1967.

assuming subject position through passivization, a process which is said to be a test for establishing the direct object of a verb and for confirming a clause as transitive.

Secondary object (fixed object) is also post-verbal but may not be referenced by an object-marker, and it fails the passivization test, in other words it cannot be referenced in the verb neither can it assume subject position through passivization. A secondary object may occur with an object in ditransitive constructions such as *alimpa Juma pesa* 'He gave Juma some money', where Juma is the direct object and *pesa* 'money' the secondary object. It may also occur without a direct object as in *mto umejaa maji* 'The river is full of water'.

There are various oblique functions which are marked by affixes and prepositions:

- *na* has two distinct functions; it may function as comitative as in *Alikwenda na Moza* 'he went with Moza' or as agentive as in *kitabu kilishikwa na mtoto* 'the book was held by the child'.
- *kwa* may function as instrumental as in *Alikata nyama kwa kisu* 'he cut the meat with a knife'. Its instrumental use is distinct from its homophonous locative counterpart.
- the locative in Swahili is of various types, including the suffix *-ni* which is equivalent to the English prepositions 'in, to, from' etc, as in *nyumba-ni kwake* lit. 'house-in, at, from etc. his', 'at his house'. Sometimes the suffix *-ni* is realised as zero as in *anakwenda posta-Ø* 'He is going to the post office'. *Kwa* is used as a locative marker when juxtaposed to a personal nominal as in *Juma anakwenda kwa Hamisi* 'Juma is going to Hamisi's (house)'. Another locative morpheme is *kwenye* 'in the location of' as in *Anakwenda kwenye duka* 'He going to/towards the shop.' There are other prepositions which are often locative equivalents such as *chini ya* 'under', *juu ya* 'on', *katikati ya* 'in the middle of', etc.

Grammatical terms such as 'subject' and 'object' describe grammatical functions at the syntactic level; at the semantic level, thematic/participant roles such as 'agent' and 'patient' are used to describe the semantic roles played by the individual constituents of the clause.

Palmer (1994) refers to 'agent', 'patient', 'beneficiary', 'instrumental' and 'locative' as generally agreed notional roles. Alsina and Mchombo (1993) refer to the hierarchy of thematic roles: agent> beneficiary> goal/experiencer> instrumental> patient/theme> locative, as proposed by lexical-mapping theory; they have used 'patient' for animate roles at the receiving end of the action of the verb usually in object position, and to similar inanimate roles as 'theme'. We have used 'theme' more generally for inanimates in subject and object position. Abdulaziz 1976/96 in his discussion of participant roles recognises roles such as 'actor', 'goal', 'time' and 'location' with verbs of material process and, we have occasionally borrowed his labels 'cognisant' and 'event' with mental process verbs, and 'attribute' with relational verbs.

We now describe in more detail the thematic roles used in the dissertation. 'Agent' refers to the animate instigator of the action of the verb. This usually occurs in the transitive affective and auto-referential constructions. In the auto-referential construction however the agent though the instigator of the action is also affected by the action of the verb.

We have used 'patient' to refer to person (or animal) affected by the action of the verb. This may occur in subject or object position. Sometimes we have also referred to the patient as 'affected person' or 'possessor' in constructions featuring 'properties'. Patient features in both transitive and intransitive affective constructions.

We have referred to all inalienable possessions and other possessions intimately connected with the agent or patient as 'property'.

Theme refers to all inanimate arguments in subject or object position which are neither agent, patient nor property. Other roles we refer to are instrument, representing arguments which function as instrumentals, manner for adverbs of manner, place for locatives and time for nominals representing time. Occasionally we have referred to the object of dative and applicative constructions as beneficiary. The following abbreviations are used to represent the various thematic roles.

ag	agent
pt	patient
pr	property, intimate possession
th	theme (used without distinction for roles that are neither

	animates nor properties nor quasi-adverbial)
bf	beneficiary or dative
mnr	manner
pl	place
tm	time
cs	cause
nstr	instrument

In the appendix and elsewhere in the dissertation where appropriate, the syntactic and thematic structure of the constructions are given in a combined notation, in which thematic roles are directly encoded by abbreviations while syntactic slots are implied by position and punctuation or suffixed case-codes as in the following examples:

Maimuna, binti yake, chozi linamtiririka	[pt, pr _-pt]
labda babangu maskini kaharibika akili ghafla	[pt _ pr mnr]
Mwinyi akamshika mkono	[ag _-pt pr]
moyo ulimwenda mbio	[pr _-pt mnr]
moyo wake ukaanza kwenda mbio kwa hofu	[pr* _ mnr cs/k]

The position of the verb within the structure is indicated by ‘_’.

The two basic preverbal slots are subject and topic. The subject role is shown whether or not the subject is lexicalised. If there is a preceding topic, it is distinguished by a following comma. In the rare case that a topic occurs elsewhere in the structure, the role concerned is enclosed <...>, e.g.

machozi Maimuna yalianza kulengalenga [pr <pt> _]

A verb is indicated by an underscore as already noted; the distinction between transitive and intransitive and motional is ignored, but passive, applicative and reciprocal are indicated by codes: Ps, Ap, Rc⁵. The presence of an object marker is noted by placing the corresponding role after a hyphen: _-pt.

Post-verbal slots are indicated by position and in a few cases by a case-code following a slash:

<i>kwa...</i>	<i>role/k</i>
<i>kwenye... or ...-ni</i>	<i>role/l</i>
<i>na...</i>	<i>role/n</i>
other prepositions	<i>role/p</i>

⁵ In earlier drafts this structure was conveyed by a note at the end of the thematic description on the model *walisameheana* [ag _[V=Rc]] instead of [ag Rc]; traces of the earlier notation may survive in the dissertation.

When a word representing a property is qualified by a possessive pronoun or expression, it is indicated 'pr*'; occasionally to resolve ambiguity as to whose property is involved, it is further identified as 'pr*ag' or 'pr*pt'.

1.5 Description of corpus

The dissertation is corpus-based. This was decided in principle because the present writer is not a native-speaker of Swahili – she comes from Ghana. The majority of previous studies of inalienable possession in Swahili are apparently informant-based (although Hinnebusch and Kirsner make some use of a Swahili novel). It was (correctly) anticipated that an open-ended search of textual data would yield a much richer source of data than elicitation without the benefit of native intuitions.

Affective constructions have proved to occur especially in emotional situations seen through the eye of a narrator. The choice of novels has additionally allowed some consideration of the wider context of the affective constructions within the narrative continuum. The novels selected yielded a rich selection of data without becoming unmanageable.

The three authors are all highly regarded writers from Zanzibar and the coast for whom Swahili is a first language. The data consists of all the constructions involving an intimate possession and its patient explicitly or implicitly, extracted from four novels. Over 900 such constructions were extracted after the novels were made computer readable. Three main construction types are distinguished with their various variants and other related constructions and these are the subjects of discussion in chapters 3–5. Both the corpus and the extracted citations are in machine-readable form. The examples are reproduced in the Appendix to the dissertation, some of them incorporating more than one construction.

The novels are *Siri ya Sifuri* by Muhammed Said Abdulla, *Nyota ya Rehema* by Mohamed Suleiman Mohamed, and *Utengano* and *Dunia mti mkavu* by Said A. Mohamed. These coastal authors were chosen because Swahili is their first

language and all are highly regarded as writers. Different authors were chosen as a control measure.

Though all three authors have distinct style of writing, they all make use of all the three major constructions that are the subject of discussion of the dissertation. However there is particularly heavy use of the constructions in both novels by Said A. Mohamed compared with the other two authors. It appears to be the case that the author of *Nyota ya Rehema* tends to use possessive constructions more in situations where affective constructions are also possible. The author of *Siri ya Sifuri* tends to use conversational/colloquial type of language and writes them as they are spoken therefore ending up with many abbreviated words and phrases.

The reference of novel, page and paragraph from which citations are taken are given. They are enclosed in the brackets <> as in <d 8.1>. 'd' refers to *Dunia mti mkavu* 's' to *Siri ya Sifuri*, 'ny' to *Nyota ya Rehema* and 'u' to *Utengano*. Our own citations are referred to with '*'. A full stop separates the page and paragraph references.

To facilitate understanding especially where the extended texts in chapter 6 are concerned we give brief synopses of the four novels below.

Muhammed Said Abdulla, 1974. *Siri ya Sifuri*

Bwana Msa a young amateur detective and his assistant Najum were discussing a lecture they had heard on the number zero, when Mwanatenga, a beautiful girl of about twenty came to solicit help.

Mwanatenga's reputed father was a rich man Bwana Wasiwasi Malifedha who lived at Shimo Wazi where there is an open crater that is continually growing. He has a friend Bwana Hafifu Mfuko who lives in a hut beside the crater and who has a powerful and unexplained influence on Wasiwasi. Bwana Hafifu is also known as Bwana O, because of his ever-open mouth. Mwanatenga has returned to live at Shimowazi after finishing her schooling, and has been helping their live-in office clerk Saidi, with whom she has fallen in love. One day Bwana Wasiwasi calls Mwanatenga in and proposes marriage to her, explaining that he had no child but had rescued Mwanatenga when she was thrown out and had brought her up as his own. Mwanatenga refused

outright and he did not bring the matter up again. Shortly after Bwana Wasiwasi sent Saidi to the city to cash a cheque of five thousand shillings. On his return Bwana Wasiwasi was not in; witnessed by Mwanatenga he locked the money in a drawer and went towards Bwana Hafifu's hut being beckoned Mwanatenga assumed by Bwana Hafifu. Later Bwana Wasiwasi returned but Saidi was nowhere to be found, the money was also gone so Bwana Wasiwasi concluded that Saidi had run away with the money and called in the police. Mwanatenga not believing this of Saidi went in search of Bwana Msa for help. After interrogating her, Bwana Msa and Najum accompanied her home. On their arrival at Shimowazi, Mwanatenga led the way to Bwana Wasiwasi's mansion, but Bwana Msa and Najum turned aside to the crater and to Bwana Hafifu's hut. On their return to the main house, they met Inspector Seif and his two colleagues, who had also concluded that Saidi had run away with the money.

Bwana Msa then led them to the crater to see for themselves that Saidi had been murdered by being pushed into the crater. Bwana Hafifu returning from his journey to Dar-es Salaam met them by the crater. Bwana Msa urged them to go into the house with him where he proposed to tell them a story entitled *Siri ya sifuri* 'the secret of zero'.

He told them there was a man whose wife left him and their infant child and run away with someone else; broken hearted the man left Zanzibar for Portugal leaving his daughter in the care of his friend who was into black marketing. After fifteen years there, he came into possession of a map that led to buried Portuguese treasures along the coast in Tanganyika (left by Portuguese fleeing Mozambique). He returned home and purchased the land in which the treasure was buried, sold the treasure hence the crater and built a mansion and put all the wealth in the custody of Bwana Wasiwasi with the legalised agreement that Mwanatenga will take over the property on reaching twenty-one years or on getting married. This explained Bwana Hafifu's unexplained influence over Bwana Wasiwasi. Bwana Msa produced the map to the treasure and a picture of Bwana Hafifu, his ex wife Asha and Mwanatenga when she was a child. Mwanatenga's twenty-first birthday was getting close and Bwana Wasiwasi knowing that the only way to retain the wealth was to marry Mwanatenga

himself, when Mwanatenga turned him down, he went to ask for her hand from her father, but he refused knowing the relationship between Mwanatenga and Saidi and also Bwana Wasiwasi's selfish intentions. Bwana Hafifu decided then to change his will and transfer his wealth to Mwanatenga and Saidi, this was the *Siri ya Sifuri* 'the secret of 'o' (zero), taking everything from Bwana Wasiwasi and giving it to Mwanatenga and Saidi.

Meanwhile Bwana Wasiwasi knowing the relationship between Mwanatenga and Saidi decided to get rid of Saidi by implicating him in a theft, but things went wrong and he ended up pushing him into the crater killing him. He was the one who beckoned him towards the hut that day, he also removed the money from the drawer and hid it in Saidi's pillow. After hearing the story Inspector Seif demanded evidence that proved that Bwana Wasiwasi killed Saidi and he (Bwana Msa) gave the evidence of Bwana Wasiwasi's foot print leading to and from the crater along side Saidi's which only went up to the crater but did not return. Bwana Wasiwasi tried to escape but seeing that it was not possible being pursued by the police he threw himself into the crater and died.

Three months later Mwanatenga visited Bwana Msa again inviting him and Najum home, this time to celebrate her twenty-first birthday.

Mohamed Suleiaman Mohamed, 1976. *Nyota ya Rehema*

Rehema was born to a rich landowner Fuad and his first wife by arranged marriage Aziza. When she was born, Fuad repudiated her because she was dark-skinned unlike her parents, though closely resembling her great grandmother. When Fuad took a second wife Adila (a love match), Aziza was banished to Ramwe, but not divorced. When her mother died at the age of eight, Rehema was taken back to live with Fuad as 'servant of the servants'. Rehema was uneducated, while her half-brother and sister Samir and Salma were sent away to school. Unhappy, she ran away at the age of fourteen, was rescued by a young labourer Sulubu when she fell in the dark, and eventually escorted to town. Here she befriended three girls who took her into their two-roomed house — of which one room was reserved for the entertainment of male visitors. Rehema got a job as a nanny to Mansuri whose wife Rosi was a

nurse on night duty. Mansuri took advantage of Rehema's innocence, bought her presents and eventually seduced her. Now Rehema changed, she did all that her friends did, she went to night clubs and discos, she went out with many men while still playing wife to Mansuri and mother to his child. One day Rosi returned home unexpectedly and caught them in bed. Rehema had to quit and took a succession of jobs losing job after job because of her life style. She was nevertheless distrustful of men because of her childhood experience, and refused all proposals of marriage.

One night she went out with her friends and chanced on a wedding reception where she later realised that the bride was her half-sister Salma.

She returned home one evening to find her mother's friend Bikiza, who had come to take her home to lay claim to her mother's house as her father was about to travel abroad to claim an inheritance. Fuad readily assigned the house to her. She sat down and took stock of her life, and decided to live at Ramwe and look for Sulubu, the young man who had rescued her in the forest years back, since he was the only man who had treated her well without any selfish motive. He agreed to live with her at Ramwe. On the advice of Mzee Pongwa (the overseer who lived at Ramwe), they rented some additional farm land by selling the gold her mother had left her. The farm flourished. Rehema got pregnant and on Bikiza's insistence got married.

She gave birth to a son who to their amazement was very fair in complexion, an exact replica of her father Fuad. To Rehema it solved the puzzle of her life and she named him Fuad after her father. Shortly afterwards they received news of the death of her father.

Three men came to survey the farm and asked for confirmation of ownership. Rehema suspicious of being thrown out of her house since her father had left no written will for her, sought legal advice from one of her ex-boyfriends and was told that she had no legal claim to the house unless she prove her father's marriage to her mother. Producing the marriage certificate did not help when she was invited by the village head man to prove her claim to the house, since a divorce certificate had been submitted to prove that Aziza was not married to Fuad at her death. She recollected seeing ink on her

mother's thumb during her illness proving that she was made to put her thumbprint on the divorce certificate without her knowledge.

They left Ramwe and with the little money they had bought a small farm house; the plot they got was dry and infertile, but they worked hard, but eventually when the rains started, suddenly ground nuts sprouted all over their land and fetched them a lot of money.

Meanwhile, Samir sold his share of his father's fortune and returned to Europe. Salma and her husband (the spoilt and corrupt Karim) toured around the world with her's and were now broke sponging on Adila as Karim lost his job on their return.

One day Karim turned up at Rehema's house and threatened her and Fuad, in an attempt to rob them of their home again, Sulubu appeared on the scene and killed him with his machete. Sulubu was imprisoned for his murder, but the people fought for his release insisting on his innocence. On his release (following the Zanzibar revolution) they went back to the farm to get on with their lives. At this time Rehema was forty years old.

The novel ends with her half-sister Salma coming to visit her. They embraced and Salma told her that she had come to say good bye and that she was going to join her brother abroad.

Said A. Mohamed, 1980. *Utengano*

Maksuudi was a wealthy but corrupt politician of the town of Liwazoni, impervious to the advice of his brother Inspector Fadhili.

He had previously been married to Mwanasururu, who had run away from his maltreatment, had a son out of wedlock, went mad and eventually died.

He had later married Tamima, by whom he had a son Mussa, now a doctor, and a daughter Maimuna, now adolescent, and kept in very strict isolation. Tamima was again pregnant and about to give birth.

At the same time, Maksuudi was visiting his mistress Kazija, who was also having an affair with Maksuudi's son Mussa, to spite Maksuudi for his maltreatment of Mwanasururu. Father and son met at Kazija's, there was a fight, Kazija broke off the relationship, and Maksuudi returned home in a foul mood to find that Tamima had given birth. When Tamima's labour started, in

defiance of Maksuudi's order, her servant Biti Kocho took Maimuna with her to fetch Farashuu, who was a midwife, and also the mother of Mwanasururu. After the delivery, Farashuu induced Maimuna to run away with her. Maksuudi reacted by divorcing Tamima and throwing her out.

Later Farashuu sent Maimuna to Mama Jeni the madame of a brothel at Pumziko where she was reluctantly introduced to prostitution. She had no idea of what was happening till James her first customer came to her. She was frightened and refused to do anything with him and struggled with him until she was able to escape from him. Later Mama Jeni explains everything to her in a pampering manner and she had no other choice but to comply. She became very popular with the men and her colleagues got jealous of her and eventually accused her of stealing money from Mama Jeni who gave her the sack. She went to Bobea to Biti Sururu, owner of a bar, who was introduced to her by her best friend Dora at Mama Jeni's place. There she started a career as a singer, she sang and danced at night clubs and hotels. She was also having an affair with a married man Shoka.

Maksuudi was now old and had lost his place in politics because he was exposed as corrupt and was imprisoned for two years. On his return, the only person who stood by him was Rashidi his chauffeur, who investigated and found out where everybody was and accompanied him wherever he went. Maksuudi wrote to Tamima begging her to return to him, but she refused. He had also looked for Maimuna for a long time and eventually found her at a hotel where she was performing but he was restrained when he attempted to go and talk to her. Later he went again to get her, this time with Mussa, they tried grasping her by the arms as her father asked for forgiveness and begged her to come home but she insulted them and blamed them for the state in which she was, and they were threatened and driven away. After the incident Maimuna left Bobea and went to Fukoni, a fishing town, where she rented a small place where she lived alone in poverty. She went to the shore one day to find some cheap fish to buy. There she met Kabi a young fisherman with an amputated leg. They got into a conversation and Kabi offered her some fish for free and she was surprised and was totally overcome by her emotions at his generosity. They became friends, and fell in love, he proposed to her, but she told him she

was not worthy of him because of her past but Kabi did not care about the past. After she had agreed to marry him, Kabi sent for his grandmother because he wanted her to meet his wife to be; she turned out to be Farashuu, and they expressed their bitterness against each other; later on Farashuu described what Maksuudi did to Mwanasururu and they forgave each other; Farashuu promised to find Tamima for Maimuna, Maimuna and Kabi got married.

Over a year after she had been married and was pregnant without any warning she was visited by her mother and brother; she was overjoyed by the reunion and asked about her father; she was told about his death and how he had longed for her forgiveness.

Said A. Mohamed, 1980. *Dunia mti mkavu*

Jaku and Bi Pole were a poor couple, the parents of four boys Fumu, Pandu, Bakari and Kitwana; who for various reasons grew up separately and came together by accident as the story unrolls.

Fumu the firstborn was driven from home by his father at a tender age to go into the big towns/city to look for a job.

Eventually he was able to lease a small plot of Bwana Hamoud's land for farming, all he owned was a cow and a few chickens. He was so poor that he couldn't afford even to kill one of his chickens for himself. To add to his misery he had a big ulcer on his leg which caused him constant pain. His friend was Mzee Gae, a solitary but perceptive old man. Mzee Gae had fought in a war and often referred to his experiences as a prisoner of war. He always teased Fumu that he was a coward and taught him to ask the "why?" and "for what reason?" about issues.

One day Fumu had a confrontation with Fauz was the arrogant son of Bwana Hamoud when he sent his alsatian dog into Fumu's hut.

Later as he led his cow out to graze a sobbing Kazija told him that her sister Masika whom Fumu himself had hoped to marry had been forcibly married to Fauz. Their father Mkame worked for Bwana Hamoud as an overseer of his lands.

Pandu Jaku, the second born of Jaku and Bi Pole, left home after a quarrel with his father when he forced Bi Pole to give away one of her newly born

twins (Kitwana aka Farouk) to a rich couple Bi Nafisa and Bwana Hilal. Pandu was rescued one day by Bi Staghafiru after he had been caught stealing and was being beaten up. Bi Staghafiru adopted him. When he grew up he did not get a job because he had no formal education. He continued stealing here and there and everybody called him a thief and feared him but he felt he was a victim of the world. Bi Staghafiru contracted TB and was bed ridden for a long time, looked after by Pandu until her death.

Bakari Jaku was the second twin who continued living with his parents. One day he was stabbed with a machete by Fauz and when Jaku found out he took his machete and marched angrily to Bwana Hamoud's house, but was persuaded to return home when they saw Bwana Hamoud standing on his veranda with his gun. The next day Bwana Hamoud had been murdered right behind Jaku's house and Jaku was falsely charged and jailed for murder.

Bi Pole took ill and died, disappointed in her wish to have back her son Kitwana; Bakari was brought up by Bi Mpoje, his mother's friend, until he was of age.

Bakari lived in a compound house, struggling with debt and caught up with his squabbling neighbours Mashaka and Bi Mtumwa. He worked as docker with his friend Shomari. With their colleagues Kumba and Mzee Salim they were secretly planning a strike because of their working conditions and government corruption, including the appropriation of property. Kumba succeeded in involving Pandu in their struggle.

Kitwana, now named Farouk had no idea that Bi Nafisa and Bwana Halil were not his biological parents. Now a police inspector Farouk was very arrogant, and also corrupt.

Meanwhile Fumu was woken up one morning with the news that his farm was on fire. Realising the farm had been burnt deliberately Fumu took his machete and went towards Fauz's house, where Fauz stood with gun in hand. Mzee Gae was finally able to persuade Fumu to back off to continue his support for the strikers.

A few days later Fumu and Mzee Gae met Bakari, Pandu, Sima and Hasan at Fumu's house to plan the demonstration. The strike started and progressed, by the fifth day all the ring leaders had been arrested and charged. On the day

of the trial a thick mob gathered around the court; the accused were sentenced to seven years hard labour, but as they were being led to the prison van, the mob surged round and freed Fumu and the other prisoners. Led by Fumu they marched to the prison and began to release the prisoners, among whom was Mzee Jaku. Staying to watch, Mzee Jaku saw Inspector Farouk arrive and give the order to gun down Fumu and his colleagues, and saw the corpses of his three sons Fumu, Bakari and Pandu packed into the back of a police car which also carried Masika, arrested for the murder of her husband Fauz. Recognising Fumu's corpse, she lashed out at and killed Inspector Farouk despite her handcuffs. The grieving Jaku was again recognised and re-arrested.

CHAPTER 2:INALIENABLE POSSESSION

2.1 Introduction

Kinship relations and / or relations of the self and the body which together can be seen as inalienable relations are grammatically marked in many languages of the world. These generally involve However the bounds of the relationships so marked differ from language to language.

It has been observed that in some languages these linguistically marked distinctions go beyond strictly inalienable relations to include for example the relation between a Muslim village and its Imam, or between a person and his words or his clothing, and may include quite different relationships, as we shall see in 2.2 below. For this reason alternative characterizations of the distinction have been proposed, for example between 'natural' and 'contractual' or between 'inherent' and 'acquired' (reported by Coulibaly, 1987)¹.

2.2 Cross Linguistic Review of Literature

Many languages of the world make a distinction between alienable and inalienable nouns in their syntax.

In some languages the distinction may exist only for body parts, in others only for kinship nouns, while in others it may extend semantic boundaries and apply in quite different cases. The distinction between alienable and inalienable is realised typically in possessive or genitive constructions.

We will look at a few languages and illustrate the distinction between alienable and inalienable constructions in their syntax.

¹ 'Relations naturelles/contractuelles, inhérentes/acquises'. Coulibaly's own proposal is for a distinction between centripetal and centrifugal constructions that it would take a long excursion into Dependency Theory and the writings of Lucien Tesnière to expand.

Rowlands (1969: 145-149) states that in Mandinka the genitive relationship is expressed in two different constructions according to the relationship between the qualifying (possessor) noun and the qualified (possessee) noun.

In the first construction, the qualified noun is placed in juxtaposition to the qualifying noun as in (1) below because 'father' is inherently related to 'Bakari'.

- (1) Báakari fáa
 possessor possessee
 'Bakari's father'

In the second construction, the first or qualifying noun is followed by an 'operator' *la/na* and the relationship here is alienable.

- (2) Báakari la búngo
 possessor operator possessee
 'Bakari's house'

Only a limited number of qualified nouns can appear in the first construction. These include names of relatives and other people closely associated with a person, and names of parts of the body as seen in examples (3) and (4).

- (3) m búloo le ka ní diming
 possessor possessee
 'My hand is hurting me'

- (4) I ye bòotoo dáa siti
 possessor possessee
 They tied bag mouth
 'They tied the mouth of the bag'

In (4) the nominals involved are inanimate and there is a whole/part relationship between them although there is also a body/part metaphor.

Rowlands discusses a few other situations in which the qualifying noun or possessor noun would appear juxtaposed to the possessee such as (5) below:

- (5) i toó ndii?
 Possessor possessee
 You name what
 'what is your name?'

Although this distinction is not confined to typically inalienable nouns, the use of alienable nouns is very restricted and only a few occur in the distinct constructions.

Jula, a Manding language closely related to Mandinka, also makes a distinction involving but not restricted to inalienable nouns. Coulibaly (1987) discusses two forms of possessive construction in Jula and related Manding languages. The normal possessive construction in Jula has the form POSSESSOR *ka* PROPERTY, he refers to this construction in which a genitive connective is used as a mediated sequence (*Séquence médiate*). The alternative possessive construction which is the marked form of the two has the form POSSESSOR PROPERTY. In this construction the property appears in juxtaposition to the possessor and is referred to as the immediate sequence (*Séquence immédiate*). The immediate sequence is used in certain cases, notably where kinship relations or parts of the body are designated. In other words, the immediate sequence is used for natural, inherent and inalienable properties as against contractual, acquired and alienable properties for which the mediated sequence is used. However the precise semantic nature of the opposition is unclear (and may vary from dialect to dialect). Examples are set out in Table 2.1 below in translation, tabulated by construction type.

Immediate	Mediated
<i>Kinship:</i>	
blood relations [all immediate]	
relations by marriage	
‘man’=husband	man (joking reference to other relationship)
‘chief’=husband	
children	children=children of household, including wards
<i>Other relationships, depending on intimacy</i>	
friend	chief of village
neighbour	our president
age-mate	our imam
companion	
imam (of village)	
<i>Relation between person and object/place/animal (mediated with minor exception)</i>	
father’s home area	house
mother’s home area	village
	clothing
	dog
<i>Whole to part (always immediate)</i>	
head	(unless talking of joint of meat!)
foot	
branch of tree	
words of song	
door of house	
<i>Bodily emanations</i>	
sweat	speech
tears	song
<i>Subjective nominalisations (mediated) and objective/oblique (immediate)</i>	
call by child	call to child
cry of woman	repair of car
flight of man	departure for house

Table 2.1

In Jula therefore, the distinction in possessive constructions is not a clearly alienable/inalienable dichotomy. Although some general rules may be appropriate concerning alternative possessive constructions, there are several exceptions to the rule.

The interesting point is that all whole to part relations are expressed by immediate sequence be it a human relation or inanimate, so long as the relationship is inalienable.

Russell G. Schuh, (1974) in his paper on inalienable possession in Hausa, discusses the distinction between alienable and inalienable nouns in Kanakuru, a Chadic language. In this language also inalienable possessives are formed by immediate juxtaposition of the head (possessee) and the possessor in an order which contrasts with that of the Manding languages (Kanakuru is left-headed, Mandinka/Jula are right-headed).

Examples:

(7) mǝnda Miyim
mother Miyim
'Miyim's mother'

(8) bil kimne
horn bushcow
'a bush cow's horn'

(9) bo-wo
father you
'your father'

(10) noŋ-mu
mother us
'our mother'

Alienable possessives make use of an overt possessive marker.

- (11) gam ma tam noi
 ram of+MASC woman
 'the woman's ram'
- (12) tiɲa ra lowoi
 ewe of+FEM boy
 'the boy's ewe'
- (13) kure moŋ-go
 corn of+MASC-you(PL)
 'your corn'
- (14) gam maa-mu
 ram of+MASC-us
 'our ram'
- (15) tiɲa ra-no
 ewe of+FEM-me
 'my ewe'

He points out that Hausa which is also a Chadic language now productively uses only the alienable type construction.

In Sotho a Bantu language certain relations are syntactically marked. Voeltz, (1972), states that in Sotho whole-part relationships extend beyond inalienable nouns to include a whole universe of nouns. Also in Sotho whole/part relationship is not only restricted to possessive constructions, and that the restrictions observed follow from a higher order generalisation.

In fact what happens in Sotho is that a two-argument verb (that is a verb that usually takes one object) may normally take on a third argument with the use of a preposition, but in situations involving the relations mentioned above the two-argument verb would normally take on a third without the use of a preposition if the second argument is inalienably owned or is a part of the third (additional) argument.

- (16) ke roba letsoho. <Voeltz ex 5a>
 I break arm
- (16a) ke roba Opa letsoho. <Voeltz ex 5c>
 I break Opa's arm
- (16b) ke roba letsoho la Opa. <Voeltz ex 5b>
 I break Opa's arm (the one he is dissecting)
 *I break Opa's arm (the right one)

- (17a) *ke roba Opa thupa. <Voeltz ex 6c>
I break Opa stick
- (17b) ke roba thupa ea Opa. <Voeltz ex 6b>
I break stick of Opa
- (18a) P. obetla pene motsu. <Voeltz ex 7f>
P. sharpens the pen the tip
- (18b) *P. obetla pene lebre. <Voeltz ex 8f>
P. sharpens the pen the razor blade
- (19a) P. openta tafole leoto. <Voeltz ex 7j>
P. paints the table the leg
- (19b) *P. openta tafole letsoho. <Voeltz ex 8j>
P. paints the table the arm

(16a), (17a), (18a) and (19a) are affective in form. (16b) and (17b) have a genitive possessor. (18b) is presumably intended as an instrumental (sharpens with razor blade) and (19b) is nonsense because tables do not have arms; the successful sentences are the ones where the goal is an inherent part of the 'patient'.

Voeltz's examples from Sotho may at first sight appear similar to the Manding examples we have considered, since there is a 'juxtaposition' of possessor and possessee in the case of inalienable possessions versus a construction with genitive particle in the more general case. However, examples quoted are all post-verbal, and it is more plausible to analyse as in Swahili by seeing both possessor and possessee as dependent on the verb.

Hyman, (1977: 99-117), in his discussion of the syntax of body parts in Haya refers to a phenomenon in Haya similar to that which occurs in Sotho as described by Voeltz, as 'possessor promotion'.

Possessor promotion occurs where the possessor is at the same time the experiencer of the action of the verb. The object which is created by the possessor promotion is affected by the action of the verb. For possessor promotion to occur the possessed noun must be a body part of the possessor and the possessor must necessarily be affected also by the verb as in (20) below.

- (20a) η -ka-hénd' ómwáán' ómukôno <Hyman ex 13>
 I-P₃-break child arm
 'I broke the child's arm'

- (20b) ? η -ka-hénd' ómukôno gw'ómwáana <Hyman ex 14>
 I-P₃-break arm of child
 'I broke the detached arm of the child'

In (20a) the possessor takes the direct object position, but in (20b) 'arm' is object and the possessor is attached by a genitive link. Here again (20b) will only be accepted if the arm is considered as detached.

Hyman states that elsewhere in Haya the introduction of an additional verbal argument requires the applicative or causative/instrumental as in (21) but not where the extra argument is a body part of the possessor as in (20a) above. He notes also that this phenomenon is not strictly restricted to body parts but also extends to include clothing. However the bounds in Haya are quite restricted.

- (21a) η -ka-cumb' ébitooke <Hyman ex 23>
 I-P₃-cook bananas
 'I cooked (the) bananas'

- (21b) η -ka-cumb-il' ómwáán' ébitooke <Hyman ex 24>
 I-P₃-cook-APP child bananas
 'I cooked the child bananas'

In (20a) above the verb involved is transitive hence the promotion of the possessor to direct object position. In cases where the verb involved is intransitive the possessor is promoted to subject position as in (22).

- (22) ómwáána n-aa-sháásh' ómútwe <Hyman ex 54>
 child PR-he-ache head
 'The child has a headache'
 The child is aching the head

Another phenomenon that occurs in some languages is the fact that under certain conditions inalienable possessions are not expressed by possessive marking. This is evident in Haya and also in French. Hyman refers to it in Haya as possessor deletion.

- (23) η -k-óógy' émikôno <Hyman ex 7>
 I- P₃-wash hands
 'I washed my hands'
 (lit. I washed hands)

There is no possessive marker that links 'I' and 'hands' together.

In French there is again no possessive associating property and possessor, but the verb displays a reflexive marker in (24) and (25) as if the action is visited on the agent as well as on the property; this can again be seen as an instance of possessor promotion or possessor raising.

- (24) vous vous êtes lavé les mains <*>
 you(PL) you(PL) have washed the hands
 You have washed your hands
- (25) Caroline s'est tordu la cheville <*>
 Caroline herself has sprained the ankle
 Caroline sprained her ankle

2.3 Inalienable possession in Swahili

2.3.1 Syntax of kinship in Swahili

Normal possessive relationships in Swahili are shown by a genitival connector particle which displays concord with the preceding possessor, eg.:

- (26) Ki-ti ch-a Hamisi <*>
 7-chair 7-of Hamisi
 Hamisi's chair

Certain nouns expressing kinship may be followed by another noun without genitival connector as in (27) and (28):

- (27) mama mtoto <*>
 1-mother 1-child
 Mother of the child

- | | | | | |
|------|---------|----------------|-----|---|
| (28) | mwana | haramu | <*> | * |
| | 1-child | 9-illegitimacy | | |
| | Bastard | | | |

This construction is commonly used with proper nouns, where the compound forms a title commonly used for address.

- | | | | |
|------|-----------------|--------|-----|
| (29) | Mama | Hamisi | <*> |
| | mother | Hamisi | |
| | Hamisi's mother | | |
| (30) | Baba | Moza | <*> |
| | father | Moza | |
| | Moza's father | | |

Swahili nouns referring to animates (animals as well as humans) usually have agreements that are characteristic of the morpholexical classes conventionally numbered 1 (singular) / 2 (plural), irrespective of the alternating class-prefixes that characterise singular and plural.

Examples:

- | | | | | |
|------|-----------------------------------|-----------|---------|-----|
| (31) | w-ana | w-angu | <*> | |
| | 2-child | 2-my | | |
| | My children | | | |
| (32) | m-toto | w-angu | <*> | |
| | 1-child | 1-my | | |
| | My child | | | |
| (33) | n-g'ombe | w-ake | <*> | |
| | 9-cow | 1-his | | |
| | His cow | | | |
| (34) | Mi-tume | w-etu | <*> | Y |
| | 4-prophet | 2-our | | |
| | Our prophets | | | |
| (35) | kipofu | anasimama | nje | <*> |
| | 7-blind | 1-stand | outside | |
| | The blind man is standing outside | | | |

Many kinship nouns however display a different concord, conventionally numbered 9 (singular)/10 (plural), within a possessive noun phrase

Examples:

Some non-kinship nouns also occur in the contracted form, they are *mwenzi/wenzi* ‘companion(s)/friend(s)’ and *rafiki* ‘friend(s)’

(42)

	1 st SING.	2 nd SING.	3 rd SING.	1 st PLU.	2 nd PLU.
<i>mwenzi</i>	<i>mwenzangu</i>	<i>mwenzio</i>	<i>mwenziwe</i>	<i>mwenzetu</i>	<i>mwenzenu</i>
companion	my companion	your companion	his/her companion	our companion	your companion

There is also an occasional third person plural form from *mwenzi*: *mwenzao*.

(43)

	2 nd SING.	3 rd SING.
<i>rafiki</i>	<i>rafikio</i>	<i>rafikiye</i>
friend	your friend	his/her friend

Although these nouns do not relate to kinship, they stand for a relationship between two human beings. Some friends and companions have a closer relationship than real family members.

Other contracted possessives forms are *baada yake*: *baadaye* ‘afterwards’; *hatima yake*: *hatimaye* ‘its conclusion/eventually’; *mwisho wake*: *mwishowe* ‘its end/finally’; *mbele yake*: *mbele* ‘its front/in the future’; *kesho yake*: *keshoye* ‘its morrow/ on the morrow. All the latter cases above are adjuncts. (Maw, 1985:112 and Ashton, 1944: 308)

The syntax of kinship is not further discussed in the dissertation, as the principal focus is on affective constructions (the syntax of body).

2.3.2 Syntax of Body in Swahili

Apart from kinship nouns other inalienable nouns in Swahili also behave distinctively. These distinctive properties or characteristics are identified in several construction types which are referred to here in this dissertation as affective constructions. By ‘affective’ we refer to constructions involving two (or more) NPs, of which one represents a person affected by the action of the verb and the other a part of their body or some other possession intimately connected with them. We have treated the person affected as the thematic role

'patient'; the intimate possession may be 'goal', but to mark its special relationship with the patient, we have referred to it as the 'property'.

There are several construction types of the affective construction, exemplified in (44) -(48) below:

- (44) Maimuna, binti yake, chozi linamtiririka <u20.2>
 Maimuna 9-daughter_9-poss 5-tear 5-pres-obj1-trickle
 Tears were trickling from Maimuna, his daughter.

The construction shown in example (44) has the intimate possession (property) *chozi* 'tears' as subject and the person affected (patient, Maimuna) as object of what is elsewhere in the grammar an intransitive verb (*tiririka*, 'trickle'). This construction is referred to as the affective intransitive construction. (See 3.2 for terminology).

In the present case, as commonly, the person affected has been highlighted as a topic, and referenced by an object pronoun in the verb. This construction is the subject of chapter 3.

- (45) Maimuna alimvuta bega Kijakazi <u142.8>
 Maimuna 1-pst-obj1-pull 5-shoulder Kijakazi
 Maimuna pulled Kijakazi's shoulder.

The second main construction shown in example (45) involves an additional argument (compared with the ordinary transitive construction). This resembles an ordinary transitive construction with agent and goal but additionally involves a patient as direct object, the property becoming a fixed object. This construction we have called the transitive affective construction; it is the main concern of chapter 4.

- (46) Alitikisa kichwa <d57.8>
 1-pst-nod 7-head
 He nodded

The third construction illustrated in (46) has been included because there is the same co-referentiality between the subject argument (whether this is regarded as agent or patient) and the property expressed by the object. (There are grounds for interpreting the subject as expressing patient rather than agent as

we shall see later). We have referred to this construction as the auto-referential construction and considered it in detail in chapter 5.

Each of the affective constructions above has one or more variants or closely related constructions. In one related construction both the subject and object are intimate possessions, but however usually one of them stands in as a surrogate for the affected person as a whole in relation to the other which would be a part of that 'whole' as in:

- (47) macho yalishaanza kuiva machozi <u107.7>
 6-eyes 6-pst-begin inf-be_ripe 6-tears
 His eyes had already begun to go red with tears.

In some related constructions the intimate possessions occur as locative objects.

- (48) pumzi zilimjaa kifuani <u155.7>
 10-breath 10-pst-obj1-fill 7-chest-loc
 His breath filled his chest.

In these constructions the nouns that occur in the intimate possession slot are typically parts of the body, body fluids and gases such as blood, sweat, breath, tears, clothing and abstract nouns that depict conditions such as state of mind or health. The affected person is normally human but occasionally animal.

2.3.3 Previous treatments of Swahili data

There have been some previous treatments of some aspects of the affective constructions discussed in this dissertation, and our task in this section is to review such treatments.

Ashton 1944

In her section on nominal constructions Ashton (1944:299-303) discusses some constructions she terms the Nominal Construction in which 'nouns [are used] with no preceding prepositions to introduce them'.

She describes three contexts in which such nominal constructions occur.

In the first context the noun occurs after intransitive, passive or neutral verbs, and ‘adds some detail in respect to the action or state expressed by the verb, whether in time, place or manner etc.’ Along with examples which we would variously describe as adjuncts of time (49), place (50)² or manner (56), or where transitivity patterns are at variance with those of their English equivalents (51), there are a number of examples that exemplify the intransitive affective construction, in what we have called its active inverted form (52, 53, 55 – see section 3.4.2).

- | | | | | | | |
|------|---|-------------------------|------------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| (49) | Alifika
He arrived | usiku
at night. | | | | (Ashton 1944) |
| (50) | Amekwenda
He has gone | Mombasa
to Mombasa | | | | (Ashton 1944) |
| (51) | Mto
The river | umekauka
is dried up | maji
water | | | (Ashton 1944) |
| (52) | Walivunjwa
they were broken
Their limbs were broken. | viungo
limbs | vyao
their | | | (Ashton 1944) |
| (53) | Alitulizwa
he was put at ease
His mind was put at ease. | moyo
mind | | | | (Ashton 1944) |
| (54) | Wana
they have
Blessed are the pure in heart. | heri
blessing | walio
they who have | safi
clean | moyo
heart | (Ashton 1944) |
| (55) | ameumia
he is hurt
He feels pain all over his body. | mwili
body | wote
all | | | (Ashton 1944) |
| (56) | Mji
town
The whole town was lit up with lamps. | mzima
whole | uliwashwa
is lit up | taa
lamps | | (Ashton 1944) |

² We interpret Mombasa as a locative noun whose locative suffix is realised as zero (Amidu 1980).

The second context is 'met with in sentences with an adverbial subject [where] the noun corresponds to the subject in the English translation'. Here Ashton is thinking of examples such as:

- (57) Kwa Fulani kumekufa mtu (Ashton 1944)
 at (house) someone's there has died a man
 Someone has died at So-and-so's house.

which we later refer to as the locative inversion (see section 3.4.2) but which is not further relevant here.

Ashton's third context is one in which a second noun occurs with a transitive verb which already has a direct object, and which 'supplies some further detail in connection with the action of the verb'. These include examples of what we have called the transitive affective construction (58–63) – see section 2.3.2 above and chapter 4), along with other examples involving the ditransitive verbs *jaza* 'fill' and *-pa* 'give'.

- (58) Amejikata kidole (Ashton 1944)
 he has cut himself finger
 He has cut his finger
- (59) Atakuponya upesi mguu wako (Ashton 1944)
 he will heal you quickly leg your
 He will soon cure your leg.
- (60) Wakatushika mkono (Ashton 1944)
 they held us hand
 They took us by the hand.
- (61) Jiwe likampiga na kumvunja mguu (Ashton 1944)
 stone it hit him and broke him leg
 The stone struck him hard and broke his leg.
- (62) Hukunisadiki maneno yangu (Ashton 1944)
 you did not believe me words my
 You did not believe my words.
- (63) Akamfungua farasi mzigo wake (Ashton 1944)
 He unfastened horse load his
 He unfastened the load from his horse.



Example (61) has an inanimate agent *jiwe* 'stone' and examples (59), (62) and (63) further have explicit possessives; in (63) the property is a horse's pack.

Ashton in a final note draws attention to 'the use of Object Prefix, especially when attention is directed to the person or thing in question,' giving three examples of our intransitive affective construction, this time in its canonical form (3.3.1)

- (64) Zikamkamgeuka sura za uso wake. (Ashton 1944)
 it changed him countenance of face his
 The fashion of his countenance changed. (ie. Was changed him.)
- (65) Akili zikamtoka. (Ashton 1944)
 brain it came out of him
 He lost his wits.
- (66) Macho yalimtoka kwa hofu. (Ashton 1944)
 eyes they came out of him with fear
 His eyes started out of his head with fear.

She however does not identify the uniqueness of the transitive and intransitive affective constructions, that is the link with personal reference and inalienable possession as described in later scholarship such as Harries (1969).

Harries 1969

Harries is concerned with the paradigmatic relations of groups of sentences such as those in (67a-c) below which include our affective intransitive construction, and which he believes possibly share a common deep structure. He does not state the source of his data which appears to be elicited. We give them here with our own analysis of thematic structure (see section 1.4) for convenience of comparison.

- (67a) mkono wa mtoto ulivimba (Harries, 1969, ex.1a)
 hand of child it swelled [pr* _]
 "the child's hand swelled"
- (67b) mtoto alivimba mkono (Harries, 1969, ex.1b)
 child he swelled hand [pt _ pr]
 "the child's hand swelled"

- (67c) mkono ulimvimba mtoto (Harries 1969, ex. 1c)
 hand it him swelled child [pr _ pt]
 "the child's hand swelled"

He says that a similar paradigm is exhibited by:

- (68) machozi yake yalikauka (Harries 1969, ex. 3a)
 tears his they dried up [pr* _]
 (69) sura yake ilichangamka (Harries 1969, ex. 4a)
 face his brightened up [pr* _]
 (70) uso wake uliparama (Harries 1969, ex. 8a)
 face his it lacked [pr* _]
 (71) uso wake uliiva (Harries 1969, ex. 5a)
 face his it became ripe [pr* _]

Certain of these paradigms including (68) and (69) also admit a passivised form as in (72).

- (72) alikaukwa na machozi (Harries 1969, ex. 3d)
 he was dried up by tears [pt Ps pr/n]

It is not clear what factors inhibit or permit this further variant, they are rare. This is probably because it involves the same themes in the same order as in (67b), namely [pt _ pr].

He observes that with extended verbs, (he has in mind stative verbs) his third pattern [pr _ pt] does not occur, a generalisation not borne out by our evidence.

Similar paradigmatic relations observed are formed between sentences of the following structures.

- (73a) J. alishika mguu wa mbwa (Harries 1969, ex. 11a)
 J. he held foot of dog [ag _ pr*]
 (73b) J. alimshika mbwa mguu (Harries 1969, ex. 11b)
 J. he held him dog foot [ag _ pt pr]

- (73c) mbwa alishikwa mguu na J. (Harries 1969, ex. 11c)
 dog he was held foot by J. [pt Ps pr ag/]

He notes that the first pattern is absent where the collocation of verb and property is idiomatic as in:

- (74a) *J. alivunja uso wangu (Harries 1969, ex. 15a)
 J. he broke face my

- (74b) J. alinivunja uso (Harries 1969, ex. 15b)
 J. he broke my face [ag _pt pr]
 'Juma disgraced me'

- (75a) *J. aliacha mkono wetu (Harries 1969, ex. 16a)
 J. he left hand our

- (75b) J. alituacha mkono (Harries 1969, ex. 16b)
 J. he left us hand [ag _pt pr]
 'Juma passed away'

- (76a) *J. alisonga roho yake (Harries 1969, ex. 17a)
 J. he squeezed spirit him

- (76b) J. alimsonga roho (Harries 1969, ex. 17b)
 J. he him squeezed spirit [ag _pt pr]
 'Juma throttled him'

The later part of his article is concerned with the relation of inanimate possessors but interestingly includes an analogue to the constructions in (67a–c) in which the possessor and possessee are in a whole/part relationship.

- (77a) kuta za nyumba hii zimebomolewa (Harries 1969, ex. 24a)
 walls of house this they have been pulled down

- (77b) nyumba hii imebomolewa kuta (Harries 1969, ex. 24b)
 house this it has been pulled down walls

- (77c) kuta zimebomolewa nyumba hii (Harries 1969, ex. 24c)
 walls they have been pulled down house this

On the strength of examples such as (77a-c), Harries suggests that the characteristic relation of the constructions is not "inalienable" so much as when the possessee is relational or partitive with reference to the possessor³.

Hinnebusch and Kirsner 1980

Like Harries 1970, Hinnebusch and Kirsner consider both transitive and intransitive affective constructions (the latter only in what we consider the inverted form, with patient as subject), and their relation to what they refer to as genitival sentences, in which the patient is represented as possessor of the property. They argue that although the asymmetric acceptability of their sentences (78a)-(81b) below suggest an opposition of alienable and inalienable objects, this is an accidental consequence of the underlying functions of subject and object.

- | | | | | |
|-------|------------------------|---------|---------------|-------------------|
| (78a) | Ni-li-m-vunja | mguu. | | (H&K 1980 ex. 5a) |
| | I+him+broke | leg | | |
| | 'I broke his leg.' | | | |
| | | | | |
| (78b) | A-me-vunjika | mguu. | | (H&K 1980 ex. 5b) |
| | he+is +broken | leg | | |
| | 'He has a broken leg.' | | | |
| | | | | |
| (79a) | Ni-li-(u)-vunja | mguu | wake. | (H&K 1980 ex. 6a) |
| | I+(it)+broke | leg | his | |
| | 'I broke his leg.' | | | |
| | | | | |
| (79b) | Mguu | wake | u-me-vunjika. | (H&K 1980 ex. 6b) |
| | leg | his | it+is+broken | |
| | 'His leg is broken.' | | | |
| | | | | |
| (80a) | *Ni-li-m-vunja | kalamu. | | (H&K 1980 ex.7a) |
| | I+him+broke | pencil | | |
| | 'I broke his pencil' | | | |

³ Harries (1969) suggests a possible mechanism for the development of the transitive affective construction. He observes that alternately to the regular possessive construction *bunduki ya askari* 'the soldier's gun' we may have *askari bunduki yake* (lit soldier gun his) or, we may add *bunduki yake askari* (lit gun his soldier). In subject position *askari bunduki yake* is simply a normal left-dislocated topic but Harries suggests it may occur also in object position with the possessive becoming optional to yield *walimpoka askari bunduki (yake)* 'they robbed the soldier of his gun'.

- (80b) *A-me-vunjika kalamu. (H&K 1980 ex. 7b)
 he+is+broken pencil
 'He has a broken pencil.'
- (81a) Ni-li-(i)-vunja kalamu. yake (H&K 1980 ex. 8a)
 I+(it)+broke pencil his
 'I broke his pencil.'
- (81b) Kalamu yake i-me-vunjika (H&K 1980 ex. 8b)
 pencil his it+is-broken
 'His pencil is broken.'

They argue first that the non-genitival (affective) construction is not confined to inalienable possessions but extends to clothing. Examples:

- (82a) Rosa a-li-nyang'anywa shuka (H&K 1980 ex. 9)
 Rose she+was+ripped+away 'shuka'
 'Rose had her shuka (article of clothing) ripped off her.'
- (82b) Ni-me-lowa shati (H&K 1980 ex. 10)
 I+am+soaked shirt
 'My shirt [which I am wearing] is soaked.'
- (82c) Yeye a-na-nuka nguo (H&K 1980 ex. 11)
 he he+is +smelly clothing
 'He smells because of his clothes.'

We agree with them that clothing is alienable, but have rather sought to redefine the relation of person and possession as 'intimate'. By extension, the same relation can be seen in their examples (83a-b) below, although our research has not looked closely at the extension of affective constructions to inanimate patients.

- (83a) Meza i-me-panguswa mguu (H&K 1980 ex. 12a)
 table it+is+wiped leg
 'The leg of the table has been wiped.'
- (83b) Meza i-me-panguswa vumbi (H&K 1980 ex. 12b)
 table it+is+wiped dust
 'The dust has been wiped off the table.'

However we believe their further examples involve verbs that are ditransitive and do not exemplify the affective construction.⁴

- (84a) Mganga a-li-mw-ondoa risasi (H&K 1980 ex. 13)
 doctor he+him+removed bullet
 'The doctor removed the bullet from him.'

- (84b) Mji mzima u-li-nuka damu. (H&K 1980 ex. 14)
 town whole it+smelled blood
 'The whole town smelled of blood.'

They go on to argue that inalienability does not represent the meaning of the non-genitival/affective construction, but is an inference based on the meanings of subject and object roles.

They argue that in Swahili the concept of "alienable" versus "inalienable" possession does not belong to the structure of the language. In other words nothing in Swahili grammar encodes inalienability explicitly and that inalienability is only inferred by the hearer. They adopt Port's analysis (1972a) in which "the subject prefix signals the meaning FOCUS OF ATTENTION and the object prefix signals the meaning SECONDARY FOCUS OF ATTENTION: LESS ACTIVE ROLE":

- | | | | | | | | |
|------|-----------|------|------------------|--|--------|------|------|
| (85) | Ni- | -li- | -m- | | -vunja | Juma | mguu |
| | I | Past | him | | break | Juma | leg |
| | FOCUS OF | | SECONDARY FOCUS: | | | | |
| | ATTENTION | | LESS ACTIVE ROLE | | | | |
-
- | | | | | | | | |
|------|-----|------|-----------|--------|----------|----|----------|
| (86) | Ni- | -li- | (-u-) | -vunja | mguu | wa | Juma |
| | I | Past | (it) | break | leg | of | Juma |
| | FOA | | (SF: LAR) | | FORE- | | BACK- |
| | | | | | GROUNDED | | GROUNDED |

They analyse the information signalled in the two sentences types as follows:

⁴ (84b) is superficially similar to (82c), but the post-verbal NP has a different function in the two cases. While we cannot say **Damu ya mji mzima ilinuka* 'The blood of the whole town smelled' we can say *nguo zake zilinuka* 'His clothes smelled'.

	(85)	(86)
Status of Juma as participant:	Stated	Unstated
Status of leg as participant:	Unstated	May be stated
Relation between Juma and leg:	Unstated	Stated

The focus of attention in (85) therefore is Juma while that of (86) is the relationship between Juma and leg. Both the non-genitival and genitival sentences communicate the notion of inalienable possession, but with a contrast in the degree of involvement of the “possessor”. They add later that in (86) leg is explicitly related to Juma, but in (85) this is not so. They describe the noun *mguu* as “bare”, that is it has no morphological link to anything else in the sentence, nevertheless, the leg is in fact taken as Juma’s and this is done solely by inference.

They argue that in Swahili the message of inalienability which both non-genitival and genitival sentences communicate “are best regarded not as an explicit meaning indicated by an explicit signal but rather best regarded as an inference of the totality of relatively abstract grammatical meanings and relatively concrete lexical meanings which the sentences contain”. They also agreed that “non-genitival sentences favour inalienable possession more than genitival sentences do.”

Finally they express their agreement with Ashton (1944) in treating non-genitival sentences “within the wider context of what she called the Nominal construction.”

Scotton 1981a and 1981b

Scotton also considers two main constructions, the transitive affective [ag _ pt pr] and the ‘inverted’ intransitive affective [pt _ pr] constructions.

She describes the structure of the first construction as constituting :

NP1 (agent) + verb + NP2 (patient) + NP3 (extensive)

- (87) watu hawa wa- -li- -m- -ziba mtoto huyu mdomo.
 People these they + past+ plug + patient child this mouth
 ‘These people plugged up this child’s lip.’

(Scotton, 1981b ex. 1)

The second construction she describes as a construction in which the verb does not take an agent but takes a patient in subject position. (That is, a normally intransitive verb takes an object). The structure of this construction is:

NP1 (patient) + verb + NP2 (extensive)

- (88) Ni- -me- -fura mkono (Scotton 1981a ex. 19)
 I + perfect + be swollen arm
 'My arm is swollen.' ('I am swollen as to arm.')
- (89) Kisi^u hiki i- -me- -ingia kutu (Scotton 1981a ex. 20)
 'Knife this it + perfect + be entered rust
 'This knife has rusted/This knife is rusty.'
- (90) Juma a- -li- -kufa maji (Scotton 1981a ex. 22)
 Juma he + past +die water
 'Juma died as to water/ Juma drowned.'

She argues that the NP3 in the first construction and NP2 in the second construction constitute what she terms the 'extensive case'. She states that this is because they specify the extent to which the action or state of the verb involved in the construction applies to the patient as some of her English translation in the above examples suggest. She further defines the extensive case as nouns which stand in 'real world affinity' to both the main verb and the patient. Let us compare the following examples:

- (91) Juma a-li- -shik- -w- -a shati (Scotton 1981a ex. 1)
 Juma he+past+grasp+passive shirt
 'Juma was grasped as to shirt.'
- (92) Juma a- -li- -shik- -w- -a mkono (Scotton 1981a ex. 2)
 Juma he+past+grasp+passive arm
 'Juma was grasped as to arm.'
- (93) *Juma a- -li- -shik- -w- -a kiti (Scotton 1981a ex. 3)
 Juma he+past+grasp+passive chair
 *Juma was grasped as to chair.

Scotton argues that *shati* 'shirt' in (91) and *mkono* 'arm' in (92) above stand in real world affinity to Juma. (93) is not acceptable because *kiti* 'chair' does not stand in real world affinity to Juma.

Scotton states that inalienable possession (IP) as in (91) and (92) above forms only 'a sub-class of the larger natural class of extensive relations' (1981a: 173). Other relationships include part/whole relationship between inanimate nominals such as water to river and also relationships such as: fire and its burning of such things as forest or building; vessels and the liquids filling them, food and its being cooked in regard to utensils or vessels associated with them doing something (ibid.: 161). Example (94) is from her related article, compare with (89) above.

- (94) Chungu hiki ki-me-kauka maji (Scotton 1981b: 122)
 'This cooking pot is dry as to water'

The inclusion of other nouns other than IP has been the motivation for the 'extensive hypothesis'. She argues that this excludes exceptions and redundancies of earlier treatments. She states that only nouns constituting the extensive case (EC) as has been defined can fill the EC slot.

She states that certain circumstances allow mirror image transforms, with patient as subject and extensive as NP2 but she specifically excludes sentences involving IP, thus denying what we have treated as the canonical form of the intransitive affective construction (2.3.2. and 3.1.1). She is thinking of examples such as (95a & b), where she claims that whichever noun is in NP2 position must be either a mass noun (like *mvi* 'grey hair') or qualified (*kichwa kizima* 'entire head').

- (95a) Mvi zi- -me- -enea kichwa kizima (Scotton 1981a ex 26a)
 Grey hairs they + perfect +cover head entire
 'Grey hairs cover the entire head.'

- (95b) Kichwa kizima ki- -me- -enea mvi (Scotton 1981a ex 26b)
 Head entire it + perfect + cover grey hairs
 'The entire head is covered as to grey hairs.'

She explains that there is a subtle difference in meaning between the inverted and non-inverted construction, in terms of the prominence or salience given to the first argument which becomes the 'patient'. The inversion is superficially

similar to that found in the locative construction which is however differently derived involving an agent.

She notes the distinction between the EC and the instrumental case which as she puts it can appear in the NP3 slots but is always distinguished from the EC by its case marker *kwa*. Compare example (96) and (97) below:

- (96) Baba a- -li- -m- -piga mtoto wake bakora tatu
 father he + past + him/her + beat child his cane(s) three
 'Father beat his child to the extent of three strokes of a cane.'
 (Scotton 1981a ex 13)

- (97) Baba alimpiga mtoto wake kwa bakora
 father he + past + him/her + beat child his with cane
 'Father beat his child with a cane.'
 (Scotton 1981a ex 14)

Scotton concludes that inalienable possession forms a sub-class of the natural class of extensive relations characterised by real world affinity.

Scotton's 'real world affinity' is very close to our idea of intimate relationship except that it extends beyond 'self' to physical whole-part relations which we have not considered. However she has not sufficiently considered what we consider to be the canonical form of the construction.

Keach and Rochemont 1994

Keach and Rochemont give a treatment of transitive affective constructions in terms of Government and Binding theory. They argue like Hyman (1977) that these constructions constitute Possessor Raising (PR). PR describes the process whereby a genitival expression of the form Possession + GEN + Possessor e.g. *kidole cha Asha* ('Asha's finger') is transformed into two separate arguments by Possessor Raising with the possessor taking on the grammatical and syntactic attributes previously displayed by the possession e.g. *Juma alimkata Asha kidole* 'Juma cut Asha the finger', compare *Juma alikata kidole cha Asha* 'Juma cut finger of Asha'.

Their examples yield the somewhat rare ordering [ag _-pt pt pr] ([ag _-pt pr pt] is more normal), together with the passive transformation [pt Ps pr ag/n] e.g. *Asha alikatwa kidole na Juma* 'Asha was cut finger by Juma', but they

state that 'PR fails in subject position', instancing *mtoto miguu alifunikwa* 'child legs he was covered', overlooking the common intransitive form [pr _-pt (pt)] e.g. *kidole kimemkatika* (Asha).

Whether their GB account of possessor raising could be developed to cover both transitive and intransitive affective constructions we are not competent to assess.

Kwon 1995

Joung-Mi Kwon (1995) is a dissertation on possession in Swahili written in German, and as such, not easily accessible to us. After an introduction and background description of Swahili, chapter 3 concerns possessive structures in Swahili. It is divided into three sections: 3.1 concerns nominal possessive constructions, 3.2 the 'Possessor-Promotion' construction, and 3.3 predicative possessive constructions, concerned with *kuwa na* 'to have' lit. 'to be with'. He is concerned principally with the transitive affective and the active inverse intransitive affective and is drawing on data from Harries 1970/71, Hinnebusch and Kirsner 1980, and Scotton 1981a/b, and adds only a limited amount of new data, in particular exploring in more detail whole-part relations.

Maw 1991

In her paper, Joan Maw states that the way people express themselves (in grammar) usually reflects their perception. She observes that one may see oneself as doing, being done to or being. These notions correspond to the use of the active, passive and the stative voice respectively. That is why languages distinguish between these voices.

The structure of statements about the self reflects the perception of the subconscious mind.

Although Swahili generally makes these three distinctions, for some constructions involving the self and body unexpected voices are used.

In some cases to be described the active voice is used where the passive is expected. Although the actions in question are done for the recipient, the recipient uses the active voice to express them so that although the subject

appears (grammatically) as actor and the verb active, in real life the action is actually carried out by another and the subject is the recipient of the action.

Examples are verbs such as *kunyoa* glossed 'cut hair', *kusonga* glossed 'treat hair', *kudunga* glossed 'pierce ears' which may be used in the sense of being done to, as 'to have one's hair treated', e.g. *Nimesonga nywele* would mean 'I have had my hair plaited', and if the action happens to be performed by oneself, this must be specified, e.g.

- (98) mimi ndevu nanyoa mwenyewe (Maw 1992 ex. 18 (part))
 me beard I shave myself

Mwenyewe 'myself' indicates that the action was done by the affected person, without it the statement would have a stative meaning, implying that the action was being carried out for the patient.

Active verbs are also used where the passive or stative is expected with verbs referring to clothes, e.g.

- (99) Umeshakata nguo za sikukuu? (Maw 1992 ex. 22)
 have you cut clothes for the great day?
 (have you had your special clothes made yet?)

Here also the action appears to be done by addressee but in reality, the dress is rather being sewn for her. Here again one would logically expect the use of the passive/stative verb.

According to Maw the use of the active verb by the recipient of the action reflects the subconscious where the subject and object are the same. In other words the subject and object have the same referent.

Passive voice in these cases would only be used in the case of a child or a person incapacitated in some way, e.g.

- (100) amenyolewa na baba (Maw 1992 ex.24)
 he was shaved by his father

In other instances of this specialised usage, the action appears to be carried out by some other force such as emotions, illness or part of the body instead of

another person and here both the active and the passive voice may be used. This resembles the examples we consider at 3.3.1 and 3.4.1.

(101a) wasiwasi ulimwingia (Maw 1992 ex.26a)
uncertainty entered him

(101b) aliingiwa na wasiwasi (Maw 1992 ex.26)
he was entered by uncertainty
(i.e. he felt uncertain)

Thirdly she states that in Swahili body parts are not referred to with possessives, which are notable for their absence as in the examples above. The suggested reason for this is that it is assumed that the body part is an integral part of the self so that the possessive would only be used if there was any doubt about ownership. We have not found this to be entirely true, though examples without possessives are more numerous than those with. In all construction types involving inalienability, the possessive marker may be used although in a marked form, but this is not motivated by any doubts about ownership.

Some verbs which are stative in meaning and would normally not take objects, are used transitively when referring to the body or self. Such verbs are used as if they were active.

(102) Usingizi umempotea (Maw 1992 ex. 37)
sleep has got lost him

Abdulaziz 1976 and 1996

Abdulaziz (1976/96) wrote about transitivity in Swahili including reference to what we have called affective constructions, but his work was only published in 1996 and is not reflected in earlier treatments.

Abdulaziz distinguishes various elements associated with the verb: participant roles (in other terminology arguments of the verb), circumstantials (adjuncts, sentence arguments) and range.

The 'range' is closely associated with the action of the verb, e.g. *Alikufa maji*, lit. 'he died water', 'he almost drowned, but survived'.⁵ Many of the examples that Abdulaziz gives of 'range' would be regarded as phrasal verbs or 'phrasal predicates' (Harries 1970:192; Abdulaziz 1996:36), but he includes as examples of range also 'parts of wholes' (or inalienable possession), e.g. *Juma alivunjika mkono* lit. 'Juma got broken, the arm', 'Juma broke his arm'; *Nyumba ilianguka paa* lit. 'the house fell, the roof', 'The roof of the house fell'; 'location' *mtoto anapita njia* 'the child is passing, the path', 'the child is walking by'; 'attribute' *mfungwa alikufa madhulumu* lit. 'the prisoner died, a wronged man (i.e. he was wrongly convicted); 'accompaniment' *Tajiri atakuja na pesa* 'The rich man will come with the money', and 'cognate' *Alikwenda mwendo (mrefu)* 'He walked a long distance'. Among reasons that Abdulaziz gives for the distinction of range are the different nature of probing questions (see footnote 5), and the difficulty of referring to the range with an object marker or making it the subject of a passive. However, when he treats affectives in detail, there are exceptions.⁶

In introducing what we would call affective constructions, Abdulaziz states that 'if a process affects a part of an animate or inanimate object the syntax of the clause is arranged in such a way that the "whole" becomes the main medium of the process (actor or goal), and the "part" the minor (or range of inalienable possession).' He gives examples such as (103) and (104) below but some of the examples like (105) we would treat as auto-referential.

(103)	Juma	alivunjika	mguu.	<Abdulaziz 1996:134>
lit.	Juma	got broken,	the leg.	
	Juma broke his legs.			

(104)	Alitoka	jasho.	<Abdulaziz 1996:134>
lit.	He was pouring	sweat.	
	He sweated.		

⁵ Abdulaziz observes that it does not make sense to ask *Alikufa nini?* 'He died of what?' and expect the answer '*maji*'; the appropriate 'probing' question is *Alifanya nini?* or *Alipatikana na nini?* 'what happened to him?' expecting an indivisible answer *Alikufa maji*.

⁶ Abdulaziz allows *aliyapiga magoti* lit. 'He struck them, knees, i.e. he knelt', rather to our surprise, but rejects *Magoti yalipigwa na yeye* 'knees were struck by him' (1996:133); however he offers *Magoti yalipigwa mbele ya mfalme* 'There was kneeling before the king' (1996:154).

- (105) Alivuta pumzi. <Abdulaziz 1996:134>
 Lit. He drew in breath.
 He breathed in.

Abdulaziz further notes the constructions exemplified in (106)–(107). The construction in (106) he describes as pseudo-passive, relating it structurally to cases like (104). In our view it is easier to see it as a regular passive formation from a structure such as (107), which we consider the canonical form of the intransitive affective construction.

- (106) Juma alitokwa na damu. <Abdulaziz 1996:135>
 Lit. Juma was come out with blood.
 Juma bled.

- (107) Damu i-li-mtoka. <Abdulaziz 1996:135>
 blood it oozed (from) him.
 He bled.

The construction in (107) Abdulaziz sees as a case of making the range element subject (1996:135); however he states that ‘range elements [inalienable possession included] do not seem to occur as actors or subjects in an active clause’ except in constructions which involve the process of bodily substances leaving the body as in (107), partly because for these the whole/part relationship is reduced. In contrast we have also found emotions, limbs, clothing etc. occurring as subjects in this variant of the construction.

These constructions which we refer to as the intransitive affective construction are explored in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3: INTRANSITIVE AFFECTIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

3.1 Introduction

3.1.1 Thematic structure of canonical and related constructions

The basic affective intransitive construction has two arguments, with a property as subject and a patient as object, e.g.

- (1) midomo ilimtetemeka <d9.1>
 4-lips 4-pst-obj1-tremble
 lips they him tremble
 his lips trembled

The object is most commonly represented by a pronoun, as here.

We have distinguished canonical constructions, which have this basic form, and a number of related constructions which deviate in some way.

3.1.1.1 Canonical constructions

In the commonest of the three canonical structures [pr _-pt], the patient is represented by an object pronoun embedded in the verb; in the other two variants, the patient is represented explicitly by a noun (often a proper noun) either after the verb [pr _ pt] (the normal object position), or initially as a pre-sentential topic [pt, pr _-pt]. These variant realisations of the object are a general feature of the language, and are only of remark here because of the unexpected relative frequencies of the three types. Canonical constructions are discussed in section 3.3

3.1.1.2 Related constructions

Other constructions include the uncommon passive inversion of the canonical construction, with the patient as subject and property represented by an agentive expression; the much more common “active” inversion, with the

patient again as subject and the property as object; normal intransitive constructions with property as subject and patient as possessor of property within a possessive NP, and a 'surrogate' construction in which the subject is not a patient but another property of broader compass, e.g. 'eyes' (with 'tears' as property). These constructions are discussed in section 3.4.

3.1.1.3 Constructions with locative properties

It is also worth surveying related constructions in which properties occur within a locative noun phrase, as these constructions are also notable for the way in which the 'ownership' of properties is implied rather than explicit (3.4.7).

3.1.2 Why 'intransitive'?¹

These constructions have been described as affective intransitive constructions, when manifestly they feature a grammatical object representing the patient. Why this paradoxical usage?

Firstly, as we shall see in more detail in 3.2.3, the same verbs are often to be found as simple intransitive verbs with patient as subject and no property specified.

Secondly, they have only one animate participating role, most appropriately called 'patient', in contrast to the affective transitive construction, which has three arguments including both patient and agent.

3.2 Elements of the construction and their categorisation

3.2.1 Properties

There are 217 examples of the various variants of the canonical construction in our corpus. In these and related examples, 66 different properties occur as

¹ This use of "intransitive" has proved controversial, although we have not found a better term. The clear distinction between the constructions at issue here and those that are the concern of Chapter 4 is that the former involve one (human) participant while the latter involve two.

subjects. These properties which may be either physical or abstract can be categorised into at least five different groups. They are:

- (i) Body parts, that is properties that can be described as physical parts of the body such as eyes, nose, back and hair.
- (ii) Body fluids and gases. So far the only examples we have come across are blood, sweat, tears and breath.
- (iii) Clothing such as trousers, coat and cloth.
- (iv) Emotions, these are abstract nouns that express the emotions and mental states of the patient such as fear, sorrow, grief, anger, joy and pain.
- (v) The last group we have given the heading abstract properties simply because they do not engage the mental states or emotions. States of health and notions like intellect, the abstract self and strength are put in this group. Examples of such properties are the self, voice, strength, body heat and illness.

The number of occurrence of the properties in these 217 examples range from 1 to 28. The properties that occur most here are *moyo* 'heart' 28, and *machozi* 'tears' 23. The sub-category that occurs least is clothing which occurs only 8 times in canonical constructions.

Table 3.1 shows the number of occurrences within each category of property in canonical and related constructions.

Table 3.1 Properties used in affective intransitive constructions:

(a) in canonical constructions (also passive inversion).

(b) in related constructions /less passive inversion.

(c) in affective locative constructions.

Body Parts		(a)	(b)	(c)
moyo	heart	28	35	1
(ji)macho	eyes	10	39	1
mdomo/mi	lip(s)	6	4	0
malaika	body hair	6	0	0
mwili	body	5	15	1
kifua	chest	4	12	4
mkono/mi	hand(s)	3	8	0
masikio	ears	4	2	1
miguu	legs	3	11	0
nywele	hair	3	4	0
uso/nyuso	face(s)	6	29	4
jeraha	wound	1	2	0
kinywa	mouth	1	2	1
meno	teeth	1	1	0
mgongo	back	2	0	1
sura	face	1	2	0
tumbo	stomach	1	3	0
ulimi	tongue	1	2	0
TOTALS		86	171	14

Emotions		(a)	(b)	(c)
hofu	fear	7	1	0
fikra	thoughts	4	1	0
hamaki	anger	3	4	0
mawazo	thoughts	2	3	2
hamasa	anger	3	0	0
hamu	desire	2	0	0
hasira	anger	2	1	0
jitimai	grief	2	2	0
tamaa	greed/desire	2	2	0
woga	fear	2	1	0
dukuduku	uncertainty	1	0	0
ghadhabu	anger/rage	1	1	0
hisia	feeling	1	1	0
huzuni	sorrow	2	1	0
kicheko	laughter	1	0	0
maumivu	pains	1	5	0
raha	joy	1	0	0
ufidhuli	arrogance	1	0	0
wahka	doubt	1	1	0
wasiwasi	doubt	1	2	0
TOTALS		40	26	2

Abstract etc.		(a)	(b)	(c)
nguvu	strength	3	2	0
joto	body heat	3	1	0
nafsi	self	1	5	0
(ma)nenzo	word(s)	2	2	3
roho	soul/heart	3	13	2
sauti	voice	2	8	0
akili	mind/brain	2	10	0
kikohozi	cough	1	0	0
nadhari	senses	1	0	0
ulevi	drunkenness	1	0	0
usingizi	sleepiness	1	0	0
TOTALS		20	41	5

Body Fluids/gases		(a)	(b)	(c)
(ma)chozi	tears	23	22	1
damu	blood	15	6	1
(ki)jasho	sweat	10	8	0
pumzi	breath	9	2	2
TOTALS		57	38	4

Clothing etc.		(a)	(b)	(c)
kanzu	gown	3	1	0
suruali	trousers	1	1	1
buibui	veil	0	1	1
kaptura	shorts	0	0	1
kaniki	shawl	0	1	0
bangili	bangles	0	1	0
miwani	glasses	0	1	0
shuka	sheet	0	1	0
tai	tie	0	1	0
shepeo	hat	1	0	0
blanketi	blanket	1	0	0
koti	coat	1	0	0
fulana	vest	1	0	0
TOTALS		8	8	3

From the above tables body parts occurs most in the affective intransitive constructions they occur 86 times, the next one is body fluids which occur 57 times. Emotions occur 40 times, abstract properties 20 times and clothing as mentioned already 8 times. Another possession that we have regarded as personal and therefore property is *sigareti* 'cigarette' which occurs once.

3.2.2 Patients

As mentioned already, the entity that occupies the object position in this construction is the patient which is always animate and almost exclusively human. There has been only one instance of an animal, a cow in our data. The patient is also usually in the third person which is indicated by the object concord singular -m-. It seldom occurs in the plural or even first and second person singulars. Only 5 of these constructions occur with the third person plural, represented by the underlined object concord -wa-.

- (2) nyuso zimewaparama <d111.5>
10-face 10-perf-obj2-dry up
Their faces had dried up.
- (3) wote masikio yaliwapaa <d105.4>
2-all 6-ears 6-pst-obj2-rise
All their ears pricked up.
- (4) wote michirizi ya machozi inawapita <u25.6>
2-all 4-trickle 4-of 6-tears 9-pres-obj2-pass
They all shed tears.
- (5) jasho liliwachururika <u67.5>
5-sweat 5-pst-obj2-trickle
Sweat trickled from them.
- (6) Fikra ziliwachemka. <d103.5>
10-thoughts 10-obj2-boil
Their thoughts boiled.

The first person singular occurs 5 times, and the second person plural occurs 3 times:

- (7) mgongo wanipwita <d17.2>
3-back 3-pres-obj1ps-throb
my back is throbbing.
- (8) kijasho kinanitoka <d38.12>
7-sweat 7-pres-obj1ps-come out
Sweat is coming out of me
I am sweating.

- (9) moyo unan'enda shindo <s30.3>
3-heart 3-pres-obj1ps-go suddenly
My heart beat suddenly.
- (10) hata macho yamenivimba kwa mume wangu <d107.6>
even 6-eyes 6-perf-obj1ps-swollen by 1-husband 1-poss1ps
Even my eyes are swollen because of my husband.
- (11) 'Kisinitoke [kijasho]? <d39.1>
7-neg-obj1ps-come_out [7-sweat]
Why shouldn't I sweat?
- (12) kijasho kinakutoka kwa ndugu yako <d38.13>
7-sweat 7-pres-obj2ps-come_out for 9-brother 9-poss2ps
sweat is coming from you for your brother
- (13) akili zimekuruka <u8.13>
10-mind 10-perf-obj2ps-jump
You are out of your mind.
- (14) mbona damu inakuchururika <u145.6>
why 9-blood 9-pres-obj2ps-trickle
Why are you bleeding?

-ni- and -ku- in the above constructions represent respectively the first person singular and the second person singular.

The patients involved may or may not be explicit, in Swahili grammar the patient which is also the object will always be co-referenced by the object concord. In a large number of the canonical constructions the patient is not expressed explicitly. When the patient is explicitly expressed it occurs as a topic in pre-subject position or in post-verbal position after the verbal complex. In the data there are only 7 examples in which patient is expressed explicitly by a post verbal NP and 40 examples of patients explicitly expressed as presentential topics. See section 3.3.2 and 3.3.3.

3.2.3 Verbs

The constructions in this chapter have been termed intransitive in contrast to the transitive constructions of chapter 4, notwithstanding the appearance of an ‘affective’ object representing the patient, as explained in 3.1.2.

The intransitivity of many of the verbs here are seen in the related constructions discussed in sections 3.4.3 and 3.4.4 where similar and even otherwise identical constructions occur without objects. A lot of the constructions describe mental and emotional activities.

In the rest of the section we discuss the categories of verbs that occur in the intransitive affective construction.

Many of the verbs used are clearly intransitive in other environments (see further below for forms marked with an asterisk).

<i>-kauka</i>	'be dry'
<i>-isha</i>	'be exhausted'
<i>-vimba</i>	'swell'
<i>-chemka</i>	'boil'
<i>-nyong'onyea</i>	'become weak'
<i>-papa</i>	'palpitate'
<i>-foka</i>	'come out in a rush'
<i>-tetema</i>	'tremble'
<i>-parama</i>	'be unresponsive'
<i>-iva</i>	'be ripe'
<i>-lengalenga</i>	'fill' of tears filling eyes
<i>-keketa</i>	'cut, hurt'
<i>*-paa</i>	'rise'
<i>-lenga</i>	'fill' (of tears filling eyes)
<i>-timka</i>	'be ruffled'
<i>*-kwama</i>	'get stuck'
<i>-pwita</i>	'throb'
<i>-koza</i>	'be dark-coloured'
<i>-foforeka</i>	'seethe'?

An example of these is:

- (15) macho yakamwiva <u35.17>
 6-eyes 6-sbsc-obj1-be_ripe
 His eyes became red.

Some are further stative in form, with the endings *-ika/-eka*, or *-oka/-uka* (in alternation with *-oa/-ua*).

<i>-badilika</i>	'be changed'
<i>*-bubujika</i>	'overflow'
<i>*-chiririka</i>	'trickle'

*-chururika	'trickle'
-gutuka	'be startled' (of heart)
-haribika	'be destroyed'
-katika	'pour off' (of sweat) – idiomatic expression not obviously derived from other uses of -katika
-koboka	'be broken off'
*-pokonyoka	'be forced out'
*-tetemeka	'tremble'
-vuka	'be uncovered'
*-anguka	'fall'
*-dondoka	'drip'
*-poromoka	'slip down'
*-tibuka	'be stirred up'
*-toka	'come from'

Similar are verbs of motion which elsewhere are frequently collocated with a locative. (Some of the verbs mentioned earlier and marked with an asterisk may also be seen as verbs of motion.)

-enda	'go' / 'beat' (of the heart)
-ingia	'enter'
-rejea	'return'
-shuka	'descend' / 'go down'
-teremka	'descend'
-tiririka	'trickle'
-penya	'enter' / 'penetrate'

It is not always possible to establish with clarity the transitivity or intransitivity of a verb, where it does not occur within our data in a non-affective context or where there is a suspicion that its usage in an affective context is specialised (as in the use of *kupiga* 'strike' for the beating of the heart). We have therefore included within the scope of this chapter all verbs we have found with an intimate property as subject and the person it is connected to as object, even if the verb is also attested as transitive, bearing in mind the structural parallelism between the following two examples where in (16) the verb is clearly intransitive while in (17) the verb is clearly transitive.

- (16) hata macho yamenivimba <d107.6>
 even 6-eyes 6-perf-obj1ps-swell
 Even my eyes are swollen.

- (17) hofu ilimshika <ny111.3>
 9-fear 9-pst-obj1-hold
 Fear got hold of her (she had discovered she was pregnant).

Examples of such contestably transitive verbs appearing in affective constructions are listed below.

-shika 'hold' hofu *ilimshika* 'fear took hold of her' <ny111.3>, cf. *aliyeshika bakora* 'the man holding a staff' <u81.8>, also *miguu yake haikushika aridhini* 'her feet didn't hold in the soil' <ny28.1>.

-chimba 'dig' nafsi *yake...ilimchimba* 'His conscience bothered him' <u102.3>, cf. *kuchimba kisima* 'dig a well' <ny159.3>, also 'harass' as in *unataka kunichimba mimi na bwanangu* 'you want to harass me and my man' <u13.6>.

-beza 'despise' moyo *wake ulimbeza* 'her heart pricked her' <u8.4>, cf. *mbwa alikinusa [kipande cha mboga] na kukibeza* 'the dog smelled the piece of vegetable and despised it' <ny34.1>.

-kumba 'jostle' hofu *ikamkumba* 'Fear jostled her' <d87.4>, cf. *Subiani* [djinn] *alipokukumba hivi karibuni, si ulitapa?* 'when the djinn jostled you recently, didn't you tremble?' <u102.10>.

-kereketa 'irritate' [dukuduku]...*lilimkereketa* '[Doubt] irritated him' <d41.1>, cf. *ubinadamu ulimkereketa Inspekta Farouk* 'humanity irritated Inspector Farouk' <d88.12>.

-keketa 'cut with blunt object' maumivu *yalimkeketa* 'the pain pressed her' <ny26.6>; all four occurrences in data are affective relating to pain.

-vaa 'wear' eg. *kavaa panjama* 'he wore pyjamas' <ny64.1>; affective appears distinct, eg. *Jitimai limemvaa* 'grief enveloped him' <d27.8>.

also 'leap on'; *Bakari alimvaa mzee Salim* 'Bakari leapt on Mzee Salim' [to push him out of the way of falling sacks]. <d53.11>.

-*shawishi* 'persuade' *ari ilimshawishi vibaya* 'pride pressed him strongly' <d8.2>, *watawashawishi wenziwao kufanya ghasia* 'they will persuade their colleagues to demonstrate' [against forced inoculation of cattle]. <d89.7>.

-*ghasi* 'embarrass' *suruali* ... *ilinghasi* 'his trousers embarrassed him' <d42.2>, cf. *lililomghasi maulana* 'what had upset his lord' <d6.3>, cf. *ghasia* 'riot' etc.

-*simanga* 'reproach' *kikohozi* ... *kinamsimanga* 'her cough was getting the better of her' <d64.3>, cf. *kuwasimanga aliowadhania ni woga* 'to reproach those he thought were cowards' <d2.7>.

-*tanzua* 'disentangle' *fikra mwafaka ilimtanzua* 'a good idea unfolded itself to him' <ny2.5>, cf. *mwanadamu alitapia kujitanzua [nyavuni] kujikomboa labda* 'man endeavoured to disentangle himself [from the net] perhaps to redeem himself'.

-*zaini* 'lead astray' *moyo ulimzaini* 'her heart tempted her' <u23.3>, cf. *hapo hapo Shetani alimzaini kama hivi* 'there and then Satan led him astray just like that' <s84.1>.

-*zuia* 'prevent' *maumivu makali yalimzuia* 'severe pains prevented him' <u128.5>, cf. *Haji alinyoosha mkono, na kuzuia debe la Mzee Fuko* 'Haji reached out and stopped Mzee Fuko's bucket [trying to prevent him from fetching water].'

-*pata* 'seize' *mshangao uliompata* 'the astonishment which seized her' <u166.4>, cf. *Yeye alitaka apate mke tu* 'he only wanted to get a wife' <s63.3>.

-*choma* 'stab/prick' (of conscience) *imani* *ilimchoma* 'faith pricked him' <u155.3>, cf. *ndipo alipomchoma kisu Fauz* 'that was when she stabbed Fauz with a knife' <d119.15>.

-*tikisa* 'shake' *mori* *ulimtikisa* 'anger disturbed him' <u11.10>, cf. *huku alijaribu kuutikisa mti* 'as he tried to shake the tree' <d24.1>.

-*tunga* 'thread', hence 'involve' *huzuni* *ilimtunga babaake* 'her father became plaintive' <u133.12>, also 'aim at', cf. *kashika bunduki na kutunga shabaha* 'he held his gun and took aim [at Fumu]' <d94.9>.

-*bana* 'congest / tighten' *Ruzuna kifua kilimbana* 'Ruzuna's chest was congested' <ny58.1>, cf. *alitoa kalamu akaibana menoni* 'he took out the pen and clenched it between his teeth' <d84.9>.

-*andama* 'follow' *hofu imemwandama Pandu* 'fear followed Pandu' <d67.1>, also 'persecute', *Alimwandama mwenzake vibaya* 'she persecuted her friend badly' <u59.1>.

Included here are causatives:

-*endesha* 'cause to go' (running to toilet)
 -*lainisha* 'smoothen'
 -*washa* 'set alight'
 -*dodofya* 'perplex'

(18) Kabi hamu ilimwasha <u164.8>
 Kabi 9-desire 9-pst-obj1-light-cs
 Kabi desire lit him up.

(19) woga wa lazima ukimlainisha <d7.2>
 3-fear 3-of 9-obligation 3-cncm-obj1-soften-cs
 The fear of necessity softened him.

Often the properties that occur with transitive verbs are not physical but emotional and abstract; they include properties like *jitimai* 'grief', *nafsi* 'self/conscience' and *hofu* 'fear', cf (17) above. Other non-physical properties

In (21a) it is used intransitively, with the ‘container’ *uwanja* ‘ground, arena’ as subject, and the contents (possibly *watu* ‘people’) unexpressed. In (21b) it is used transitively, with the ‘container’ *mji* ‘town’ as subject and the contents *hatari* ‘danger’ as object (however, this is not the direct object, because it cannot be referenced by an object marker in the verb). In (21c) it is the contents *zawadi* ‘presents’ that appear as subject, while the ‘container’ is expressed by a locative phrase.

As a result of the nature of the verb, it seems to be used in diverse structures in affective environments. It occurs in most of the variants and related constructions in this chapter. We review a number of cases and relate them to the non-affective uses in (21).

- (22) uso wake umejaa <ny21.1>
 11-face 11-poss1 11-perf-fill
 Her face was well fleshed.

This construction (22) is parallel to the non-affective usage in (21a) above, with *uso* ‘face’ as the ‘container’ with contents unexpressed. The property is here qualified by a possessor ([pr*_], cf. 3.4.4).

- (23) kitetemeshi kilimjaa <u11.7>
 7-trembling 7-pst-obj1-fill
 Trembling filled him.

(23) is superficially parallel to (21b) above but the ‘container’ and contents are the other way round with the contents *kitetemeshi* ‘trembling’ as subject and the ‘container’ *-m-* ‘him’ as object. It is however better seen as analogous to (21a) with an added affective object. This is the canonical intransitive affective structure [pr __-pt], cf. section 3.3.1.

- (24) Sasa amejaa majuto na ghadhabu <u98.5>
 now 1-perf-be_filled 6-remorse & 9-rage
 Now she was filled with remorse and rage.

(24) is parallel to (21b) with container *a-* 'she' as subject and contents *majuto* 'remorse' and *ghadhabu* 'rage' as object; this is the active inverted form [pt _ pr], cf. 3.4.2.

(25) moyo wake umejaa tamaa <ny139.5>
 3-heart 3-poss1 3-perf-be_filled 9-desire
 Her heart was filled with desire.

(26) Roho imemjaa joto <u46.2>
 9-heart 9-perf-obj1-fill 9-heat
 Her heart was filled with heat

(27) pumzi zilimjaa kifuani <u155.7>
 10-breath 10-pst-obj1-fill 7-chest-loc
 His breath filled his chest.

Both (25) and (26) are parallel to (21b) with container in subject position and contents in object position. (25) expresses the patient/possessor with a possessive [pr* _ pr], while (26) has an added affective object [pr _-pt pr]. (27) is parallel to (21c) with contents *pumzi* 'breath' as subject and container *kifuani* 'in the chest' expressed as a locative [pr _-pt pr/l]. These exemplify the dual property constructions described in 3.4.5–3.4.7.

There is also a marginal case in which *-jaa* is used with two properties as in example (28) below:

(28) katika roho zao mlijaa chuki <d41.11>
 prep 10-hearts 10-poss2 18-pst-fill 9-hatred
 Their hearts were filled with hatred.
 (*lit.* in their hearts filled hatred)

(28) is the locative inversion of (21c), with container and contents occurring the other way round, and the locative tied to the container *roho* 'hearts' in subject position and the contents *chuki* 'hatred' as object.

Another striking difference between the affective and non-affective use of *-jaa* apart from the possible occurrence of the affective object is that in non-affective usage both the contents and container are physical, but in affective usage the contents is usually an emotion as in (23), (25) and (28) or

In affective constructions it is the meaning 'to lose' that applies. It occurs in the canonical structure [pr _-pt] in (41)–(42) and has a passive variant as in (43).

- (41) alikuwa hana imani tena na hisia zilimpotea <u144.6>
 1-pst-be 1-neg-have 9-faith again & 10-feelings 10-pst-obj1-lose
 She no longer had faith and she lost her senses (lit. Her feelings lost her).
- (42) Sasa [raha] zimempotea <u128.7>
 now [10-pleasures] 10-perf-obj1-lose
 Now they (His favour pleasures) are lost to him.
- (43) akapotewa na fahamu <ny24.5>
 1-sbsc-lose-pass by 9-understanding
 she lost her senses (lit. She was lost by understanding)

In the active inverted construction (3.4.2), the causative form of the verb *-poteza* 'be lost/lose' is used. This is particularly interesting since the lost 'property' here is not deliberately lost by the patient as in the following examples:

- (44) nimeshapoteza akili <u174.3>
 1-perf-already-lose-cs 9-mind
 I have already lost my mind
- (45) lakini nimepoteza mguu wangu <u163.3>
 but 1-perf-lose-cs 3-leg 3-poss1ps
 But I have lost my leg (amputated after accident).

A number of the verbs that refer to the beating of the heart are normally clearly transitive but are used consistently here with moyo 'heart' as subject and person as object. It prompts the speculation that the involuntary and spontaneous beating of the heart may be seen as an independent force operating on the person, and hence normally transitive. However this perception is thrown into doubt by examples such as moyo wake ulipiga kwa nguvu 'his heart beat strongly' (A367) where *kupiga* is clearly used intransitively without affective object (cf A427). Contestably transitive verbs recurring with moyo include:

-piga 'beat' (of heart)

- <i>tuta</i>	'thump' (of heart)
- <i>dunda</i>	'drum' (of heart)
- <i>papa</i>	'flutter' (of heart)
- <i>gota</i>	'beat' (of heart)

Other verbs which describe heart beats also occur in the earlier categories, examples are -*gutuka* 'be startled' (of heart) and -*enda* 'go'/'beat' (of the heart).

The tenses used in these constructions are the present tense *-na-*, past *-li-*, perfect *-me-*, the subjunctive tense, the narrative or subsecutive tense *-ka-*, and the conditional tense *-ki-*.

Relative tenses are also used quite often in the affective intransitive constructions as in (46) and (47).

- (46) ile hofu iliyokuwa imemwandama Pandu <d67.1>
 that 9-fear 9-pst-rel9 -be 9-perf-obj1-follow Pandu
 That fear that was following Pandu.
- (47) [suruali] ilipomteremka na kumghasi *<d42.2>
 [trousers] 9-pst-rel16-obj1-descend & inf-obj1-trouble
 When his trousers fell down and troubled him.

3.2.4 Property-verb collocations

Some of the verbs employed here can be said to form collocations with the properties that they occur with because they usually occur with them, and given the verb, the occurrence of the property is to a high extent predictable. Examples of such collocations are illustrated in the list below³:

- <i>foka</i>	<u>pumzi</u>	'be out of breath'	5
- <i>gutuka</i>	<u>moyo</u>	'startle of heart'	4

³ These include all occurrences of the collocations including their occurrences in related constructions.

-katika	(ki) <u>jasho</u>	'sweat'	4	(also <u>kichwa</u> 'head', 'neck')
<u>shingo</u>				
-lenga(lenga)	<u>machizi</u>	'be filled with tears'	6	
-piga	<u>moyo</u>	'beat of heart'	11	
-pita	<u>machizi</u>	'shed tears'	6	
-simama	<u>malaika</u>	'body hair stand on edge'	6	(also <u>kumbimbi</u> 'goose flesh', <u>pua</u> 'nose')
-timka	<u>nwyele</u>	'ruffle hair'	5	
-tiririka	<u>machizi</u>	'trickle of tears'	9	(also <u>maneno</u> 'words')
-enda	<u>moyo</u>	'beat of heart'	7	
-papa	<u>moyo</u>	'palpitate of heart'	2	
-dondoka	<u>machizi</u>	'drip of tears'	2	
-iva	<u>damu</u>	'ripe of blood'	2	(also <u>macho</u> 'eyes')
-chemka	<u>damu</u>	'boil of blood'	3	
-chururika	<u>damu</u>	'trickle of blood'	3	(also <u>kijasho</u> 'sweat')
-isha	<u>nguvu</u>	'exhaust strength'	3	
-paa	<u>pumzi</u>	'rise of breath'	3	
-panda	<u>hamaki</u>	'surge of anger'	2	

A number of verbs are largely restricted to particular nouns, but there are no noticeable restrictions of nouns to particular verbs. The verb *-enda* 'go' occurs with properties from all three groups except clothing although it occurs most often with moyo 'heart' as a collocation. Examples of such constructions are:

- (48) mawazo haya yalimwenda mbio_mbio <d70.7>
 6-thoughts dem6 6-pst-obj1-go fast_fast
 These thoughts left him quickly.
- (49) Farashuu hamu ilimwenda <u31.5>
 Farashuu 9-desire 9-pst-obj1-left
 Farashuu's enthusiasm was sapped .

The verb *-tetemeka* 'tremble' only occurs with body parts such as lips, body and legs and hands due to the nature of the verb. These are the parts of the body which are likely to tremble. Compare the dramatic example (50) which is passive in form, see section 3.4.1.

- (50) Maimuna alibaki kutetemekwa na midomo, pua,
 Maimuna 1-pst-remain inf-tremble-pass by 4-lips, 9-nose,

mboni, nyusi, kope, mikono, miguu <u38.5>
 10-pupils, 10-eyebrows, 10-eyelids, 4-hands, 4-feet
 Maimuna kept trembling throughout her lips, nose, pupils, eyebrows,
 eyelids, hands, feet

3.2.5 Adverbs

The affective intransitive construction may also have an adverbial adjunct expressing manner occurring after the verb as in the following example:

- (51) fikra zilimbubujika kama chemchem <d92.1>
 10-thoughts 10-pst-obj1-overflow-stat like fountain
 His thoughts overflowed like a fountain.

Certain verbs display a high probability of collocation with adverbs.

The most frequently occurring adverb is *mbio* 'fast' and it usually collocates with moyo and *-enda*:

- (52) moyo ulimwenda mbio <u9.19>
 3-heart 3-pst-obj1-go fast
 His heart beat fast.

The use of *mbio* 'fast' extends even to the other related constructions in which the patient is implicit or is represented in a possessive construction.

- (53) Na moyo ulikwenda mbio <ny140.1>
 & 3-heart 3-pst-go fast
 And her heart beat fast.

- (56) Mara moyo wake ukaanza kwenda mbio <ny165.4>
 Suddenly 3-heart 3-poss1 3-sbsc-start inf-go fast
 Suddenly her heart started beating fast.

Other properties may also occur with *-enda mbio*:

- (57) Roho ikimwenda mbio <ny18.3>
 9-Spirit 9-cncm-obj1-go fast

Her heart beat fast.

- (58) Mawazo haya yalimwenda mbiombio <d70.7>
 6-thoughts dem6 6-pst-obj1-go fast_fast
 These thoughts raced through him quickly.

- (59) damu ikamwenda mbio <ny72.2>
 9-blood 9-sbsc-obj1-go fast
 Her blood rushed quickly.

Without the adjunct these expressions seem incomplete⁴. This is because all things being equal it is normal for the heart to beat. Therefore to mention it then there must be something peculiar happening, it must be beating faster or slower. It is usually used to express the mental and emotional state of the patient involved. It usually indicates the state of fear, anxiety or even anger.

The collocation of moyo 'heart' with *-piga* 'beat' is often qualified with the adverbs *kwa nguvu* 'strongly', *ghafla* 'suddenly' or even *kidogo* 'a little', as in examples below:

- (60) Maimuna moyo ulimpiga kwa nguvu <u169.4>
 Maimuna 3-heart 3-pst-obj1-beat with 9-strength
 Maimuna's heart beat strongly.

- (61) Naye moyo ulimpiga kidogo <d101.4>
 &-1 3-heart 3-pst-obj1-beat 7-little
 And he, his heart beat a little.

Sometimes the adverbs are reduplicated for effect as in the following:

- (62) Uso umemharibika vibaya_vibaya <d29.7>
 11-face 11-perf-destroy badly_badly
 His face was badly marred.

- (63) machizi yakampita njia mbilimbili <d92.1>
 6-tears 6-sbsc-obj1-pass 9-way 9-two_two

⁴ *-enda* is however used without adverbial qualification of a number of transitory states or emotions: *jicho la chuki* 'eye of hate' as Bi Kocho tries to bluff Makuudi, *mori na punzi moto* 'belligerence and hot breath' as Makuudi rages against Tamima, *ufidhuli* 'contempt' as Fauz loses patience with Fumu, *utukutu wa kitoto* 'childish exuberance' as Fumu remembers Masika's attempts to control a breakaway cow.

Tears passed from him in two paths.

- (64) mawazo haya yalimwenda mbio_mbio <d70.7>
 6-thoughts dem6 6-pst-obj1-go fast_fast
 These thoughts raced through him quickly.

3.3 Variants of canonical constructions

Here we will undertake the task of exemplifying and describing the three canonical constructions of the intransitive affective constructions.

3.3.1 Majority type with pre-referenced patient [pr _-pt]

The first canonical construction is of the structure [pr _-pt] that is property + verb + object concord denoting patient. In this construction the property appears as the subject usually of an intransitive verb, with the affected person as the patient and syntactic object. Below are examples of these.

- (65) midomo inamcheza <d28.7>
 4-lips 4-pres-obj1-tremble
 His lips trembled.
- (66) mgongo wanipwita <d9.1>
 3-back 3-pres-obj1sg-throb
 My back is throbbing.
- (67) nguvu zikamwisha <ny26.3>
 10-strenght 10-sbsc-obj1-finish
 His strength was finished.
- (68) macho yakamwiva <u35.7>
 6-eye 6-sbsc-obj1-be_ripe
 His eyes were red.

3.3.2 Type with explicit patient [pr _ pt]

The second variant of the canonical constructions is one in which the patient is expressed explicitly. That is in addition to the object concord in the verb, the actual referent of the patient is explicitly expressed after the verbal construction as seen in examples (74)–(75).

- (74) ile hofu iliyokuwa imemwandama Pandu <d67.1>
 9-that 9-fear 9-pat-be 9-parf-obj-follow Pandu
 The fear that had followed (him) Pandu.

- (75) Chozi linamtiririka Farashuu <u59.3>
 5-tears 5-pres-obj1-trickle Farashuu.
 Tears trickled down Farashuu.

- (76) Wasiwasi, hofu na wahka umemvaa kila mtu <u43.5>
 9-worry 9-fear & 3-doubt 3-perf-obj1-wear every 1-person
 Worry, fear and doubt clothed everybody.

Of the three cases cited, in two the mention serves to disambiguate the reference between multiple characters in the foreground; in (74) Pandu has been looking at his sick foster mother Staghafiru, and in (75) Farashuu has been remembering the trials of her daughter Mwanasururu, and the mention signals return to the main narrative from excursions. In the third case (76) the previous sentence has opened a new section with the commotion *nyumbani kwa Makuudi* ‘in Makuudi’s house’, implying but not identifying the occupants; the explicit object here therefore supplies a new foreground.

This structure differs from the topicalised constructions discussed in the next section (3.3.3) in only one aspect, the position of the referent after the verb rather than as a pre-sentential topic. There are only 7 examples of this construction out of the total 229 for the canonical constructions. They appear to be the marked variant compared with the topicalised constructions.

3.3.3 Pre-sentential topic [pt, pr _]

In the third variant of the canonical construction the patient is fronted to the position before the property which is the subject of the clause. It then functions as a topic to the succeeding clause. Its structure is [pt, pr _-pt]: patient +

property + verb with object concord agreeing with the patient. There are 40 examples of this construction.

Examples of [pt, pr_] are:

- (77) Bi Mtumwa nywele zimemtimka <d27.10>
 Bi Mtumwa 10-hair 10-perf-obj1-ruffle
 Bi Mtumwa her hair was ruffled.
- (78) Fauz sasa malaika yamemsimama <d8.2>
 Fauz now 6-body_hairs 6-perf-obj1-stand
 Fauz his body hairs stood on end.
- (79) Na sasa Fumu mwili ulimtetemeka <d22.1>
 Ink now Fumu 3-body 3-pst-obj1-tremble
 And now Fumu his body trembled.

A topical clause serves as a common topic for all later clauses as long as they have the same referent as the topic. Below is the full text of example (77).

- (80) **Bi Mtumwa**, nwyele zimemtimka, jicho limemwiva,
kanga zinamporomoka <d27.10>
 Bi Mtumwa's hair was ruffled, her eyes red, her cloth slipping off.

In the examples above, the patient is fronted as a topic preceding the first clause. **Bi Mtumwa** serves as a common topic to all the three consecutive clauses nwyele zimemtimka, jicho limemwiva, and kanga zinamporomoka. They all have the same referent; **Bi Mtumwa**.

The topicalised examples also occur in specific environments or situations for particular functions.

A topicalised affective commonly occurs after direct speech to identify the speaker and at the same time to express the state of mind of the speaker/patient, whether he is anxious, afraid, angry etc., as in examples (81)–(84)

- (81) 'Hayo siyo niliyokuita,' **Maksuudi** hamaki zilikwisha anza kumpanda <u75.2>
 'This is not why I called you', anger had already started mounting up
 within Maksuudi.

The construction expresses Makuudi's anger mounting up when his brother Inspector Fadhili criticises his corrupt behaviour. Below are some more examples of this:

- (82) 'Ehe, na yepi?' **Farashuu** hamu ilimwenda <u31.5>
'Ehe, and what else?', Anxiety came over Farashuu.

Here Biti Kocho is explaining to Farashuu how she has excited Maimuna about the world outside her home and how Maimuna has been taken in by her words. Biti Kocho then tells her that is not all and Farashuu anxiously asks about the other things she has to say.

- (83) 'Sharaab!' **Makuudi** hamaki zimempanda <u14.5>
'Shut up!' anger mounted up within Makuudi.

Makuudi has met his son Mussa in compromising circumstances in the house of his own mistress Kazija; Mussa tries to explain himself but is silenced by his father.

- (84) 'Kucharaza kwako pigo, hakutabadilisha ukweli kuwa, Tamima nimemzalisha minii,' **Kocho** jicho la chuki lilikuwa linamwenda <u49.3>
'Beatings will not change the fact that it was I who delivered Tamima's child', hatred came out of Kocho's eye.

Tamima had just given birth with the help of a midwife while Makuudi her husband was away. He had always prohibited the assistance of a midwife. He returned home unexpectedly shortly after the midwife had left and was beating his wife Tamima to tell him the truth about who delivered the child, but her servant Kocho stepped in and insisted she was the one and that beating up Tamima was not going to change the fact.

The following example uses affective constructions to indicate both the mood of the speaker and the reaction of the hearers.

- (85) 'Haini babaako, hasidi babaako, mnyang'anyi, muuwaji; haini mimi?'
Farashuu aliashiria kidole kifuanii pake. Sura ilikuwa imembadilika.
Maimuna moyo ulimpiga kwa nguvu. Kabi damu ilimkaka <u169.3&4>

'Your father is a traitor, your father is jealous, an abductor, a murderer; am I a betrayer?' Farashuu pointed her finger to her chest. Her visage had changed.

Maimuna's heart was beating strongly. Kabi's blood dried up.

Farashuu responds to Maimuna's accusation that she is a traitor by calling her father names and the mention of her father in the matter was a shock to both Maimuna and Kabi. There are three affective constructions following the speech. The sentence that follows immediately is not affective but foregrounds Farashuu as speaker and describes her accompanying gesture. The next sentence is affective referring to Farashuu's countenance; there is no change of reference. The next two sentences are topicalised affectives also describing the reactions of Maimuna and Kabi to Farashuu's speech.

This example also illustrates the use of successive topics to change the referent of affective constructions.

The texts in (86) and (87) illustrate the fact that affective intransitive constructions are commonly multiplied without specification of patient when they are preceded by clauses in which the patient has been explicitly established as subject or topic. In (86) Kitwana has just told Fumu that his farm is on fire, and he glares at him as if it is he that has set it alight. Canonical affective constructions have been underlined; the passage is interspersed with related constructions. The passage is further analysed in chapter 6 text (7).

- (86) Fikra zilimbubujika kama chemchem. Zilipanda kichwani, zikapandana. Mchomo ulimzuka pahala fulani ndani ya nafsi yake. Moyo ulipiga mchemko. Ulipwaga kwa nguvu. Ghafla joto lilimpanda, hakujua limetoka wapi, lakini lilikuja kutua kifuani. Damu ilikwenda kuliko desturi. Hisia zake zilishindwa kuhimili uzito wa yale aliyoyasikia. Amri fulani ilitoka ndani ya kichwa chake. Aliinua mkono, akaviringa ngumi, akakaza musuli. Uso ulimchonota, machizi yalimlengalenga, midomo ikaanza kumtetemeka. Aliuuma mdomo wake wa chini kwa meno ya juu, akatutumsha musuli zake za mkono aliounyanyua; mkono ukatetemeka. Machizi yakampita njia mbilimbili, lakini sauti haikutoka. <d92.1>

His thoughts overflowed like a spring. They rose to his head and kept on rising. A conflagration erupted somewhere inside his being. His heart beat feverishly. It thumped heavily. Suddenly he felt hot all over, he didn't know where from, but the heat concentrated in his chest. His

blood was surging abnormally. His feelings were unable to bear the gravity of what he had heard. An impulse emerged from his head. He raised his arm, he clenched his fist, he tightened his muscles. His face was smarting, his eyes were full of tears, his lips started trembling. He bit his lower lip with his upper teeth, and flexed the muscles of his raised hand. The hand started trembling. Tears flowed from him in two streams, but no sound came out.

- (87) 'Nyamazaaa!' aliibuka Bakari kwa ghadhabu. Jicho linamwaka, masikio yamemparama, pumzi zinamfoka, malaika yamemsimama.

<d54.3>

'Shut up!' Bakari roared with rage. His eyes were blazing. His ears closed, his breath was rapid, his body hair stood on edge.

The topicalised noun is usually a proper name. However three of the topicalised examples have pronouns as topics (examples 88–90).

- (88) wote michirizi ya machizi inawapita <u25.6>
2-all 4-trickle 4-of 6-tears 4-pres-obj2-pass
Streams of tears escape them both.

- (89) wote masikio yaliwapaa <d105.4>
2-all 6-ears 6-pst-obj2-rise
All their ears pricked up.

- (90) yeye tumbo likimwendesha <ny48.6>
1-she 5-stomach 5-cncm-obj1-drive
He had diarrhoea.

In example (88) *wote* 'both of them' refers to the statues of a man and a woman whose names were unknown. Hence proper names could not be used to represent them. In example (89) *wote* 'all of them', refers to many farmers among whom were the characters Fumu, Shomari, Hasani, Kumba and Simai. Here the patients involved were too many to be mentioned individually. In example (90) *yeye* 'he' is contrastive; while his wife was in labour, Mansuri was suffering from diarrhoea.

In addition to the topicalised patient, the linkers *na* 'and/or', adverbials *sasa* 'now/presently' *hapo hapo* 'at once' etc may also precede the property/subject, as in (91)–(93).

- (91) Na sasa Fumu mwili ulimtetemeka <d22.1>
 Ink now Fumu 3-body 3-pst-obj1-tremble
 And now Fumu his body trembled.
- (92) Fumu sasa woga umemtoka <d6.2>
 Fumu now 11-fear 11-perf-obj1-go out
 Now fear had gone out of Fumu.
- (93) Hapo_hapo Mzee Gae moyo ulingutuka <d100.8>
 Here_here Mzee Gae 3-heart 3-pst-obj1-startle
 Immediately Mzee Gae's heart was startled.

Another rare example is one in which both the property and the patient are fronted into topic position.

- (94) machizi Maimuna yalianza kulengalenga <u156.5>
 6-tears Maimuna 6-pst-begin inf-flow
 Tears begun to fill Maimuna's eyes.

There is also a rare variant of the topicalised construction, in which in addition to the patient being fronted into topic position, the property is postponed to a post-verbal anti-topic position.

- (95) Bakari ulimpiga moyo na Shomari ilimchemka damu <d49.2>
 Bakari 3-pst-obj1-beat 3-heart & Shomari 9-pst-obj1-boil 9-blood
 Bakri's heart beat and Shomari's blood boiled.
- (96) Fauz yalimkwama maneno <d9.1>
 Fauz 6-pst-obj1-stick 6-words
 Fauz's words stuck to his throat.

In terms of content, there is no observable difference between topicalised examples of the affective intransitive construction and other canonical forms, with some 18 examples having exact or close parallels in their combinations of verb and property. Explanation is rather to be sought in the discourse structure explored in chapter 6.

3.4 Related constructions

3.4.1 Passive inversion

Passives are normally formed from transitive constructions in which there is an identifiable agent as subject and an object which may be patient or theme; the subject may however be non-personal.

Intransitive affective constructions may similarly have passive inversions in which the patient becomes subject and the property is expressed by an agentive NP, as we observe in the following paired examples:

- (97) nguvu zikamwisha <ny26.3>
 10-energy 10-sbcs-obj1-finish
 His strength was exhausted.
- (98) alipoishiwa na nguvu <d22.2>
 1-pst-rel16-finish-pass by 10-energy
 When her energy was exhausted.
- (99) Makuudi hamaki zilimpanda <u14.5>
 Makuudi 10-anger 10-pst-obj1-climb
 Anger welled up in Makuudi.
- (100) tena nilipandwa na hamaki <s31.4>
 again 1sg-pst-climb-pass by 9-anger
 Again anger mounted within me.
- (101) midomo inamtetemeka <u52.5>
 4-lips 4-pres-obj1-tremble
 Her lips were trembling.
- (102) Maimuna alibaki kutetemekwa⁵ na midomo, pua,
 Maimuna 1-pst-remain inf-tremble-pass by 4-lips, 9-nose,
mboni, nyusi, kope, mikono, miguu <u38.5>
 10-pupils, 10-eyebrows, 10-eyelids, 4-hands, 4-feet
 Maimuna stayed trembling throughout her lips, nose, pupils, eyebrows,
 eyelids, hands, feet.
- (103) na akili zimekuruka <u8.13>
 & 9-mind 9-perf-obj2ps-jump
 You are out of your mind.

⁵ Although *-tetemeka* is the stative form of *-tetema* the passive form seems to be formed from the stative form rather than the simple form of the verb as expected.

- (104) hakurukwa na akili <ny18.5>
 neg-pst-jump-pass by 9-mind
 She did not go out of her mind.

Compare also other examples:

- (105) akasisimkwa na mwili <u91.4>
 1-sbsc-tingle-pass by 3-body
 She had goose flesh on her body.

- (106) Akachichimkwa tena na mwili <u91.7>
 1-sbsc-tingle-pass again by 3-body
 Again she had goose flesh on her body.

- (107) kila_mmoja akisongwa na mawazo yake <d41.11>
 every_1-one 1-cncm-press-pass by 6-mawazo 6-poss1
 Everyone was pressed by their thoughts.

In the passive as in the canonical form the property appears to be syntactically the instigator of the action while in actual fact it is the contrary. Not all intransitive affective constructions may have the possibility of a passive inversion, there are only 26 examples attested in our data (A208–234). The construction may share a motivational factor with the active inverted constructions in the next section 3.4.2 where subject and object are inverted without passive morphology.

In two examples the agentive connector *na*- ‘by’ does not occur.

- (108) alinguruma Bakari aliyekwisha guswa
 1-pst-growl Bakari 1-pst-rel1-already touch-pass
 na kupandishwa hamaki. <d45.6>
 and inf-climb-pass 9-anger
 ... growled Bakari, whose anger had been finally touched off and
 inflamed.
 (cf A232)

Two other examples originally classified here (A598 a/b) are best seen as passivizations of the transitive affective construction (4.2.1).

There is also one example in which the property is locative.

- (109) Alikerwa moyoni <d97.1>
 1-pst-prick-pass 3-heart-loc

He was pricked in his heart.

Apart from the exceptional example (102), and the two examples (105)–(106) where the verb is already explicit and the property *mwili* ‘body’ serves only to emphasise the generality of the state, all the examples of the passive inversion involve bodily or more often mental states or emotions: *nguvu* ‘strength’, *hofu* ‘fear’, *fadhaa* ‘confusion’, *mshangao* ‘astonishment’, *mawazo* ‘thoughts’, *hamaki* ‘anger’ *maumivu* ‘pains’ etc.

3.4.2 Active inverted construction

In this section we discuss constructions which involve active inversion of subject and object of the canonical construction without passive morphology, as in the examples below:

- (110) *aliuma* *kidole* <ny7.2>
 1-pst-hurt 7-finger
 she hurt her finger.

The following pairs of canonical (a) and inverted (b) constructions demonstrate that the choice does not depend on the words involved:

- (111a) *pumzi* *zilimfoka* *ovyo* <d8.2>
 10-breath 10-pst-obj1-pant carelessly
 He panted uncontrollably

- (111b) *ng’ombe* *alikuwa* *akifoka* *pumzi* <d22.5>
 9-cow 1-pst-be 1-cncm-pant 10-pumzi
 The cow was panting.

- (112a) *kijasho* *kinamtoka* <d38.12>
 7-sweat 7-pres-obj1-go out
 Sweat came out of him
 He sweated

- (112b) *yeyote* *asiyetoka* *jasho* <d58.7>
 1-anybody 1-neg-opt-rel1-go_out 5-sweat
 Anyone who does not sweat.

- (113a) *uso* *umemharibika* *vibaya* <d29.7>

11-face 11-perf-obj1-destroy-stat 8-badly
His face was badly marred.

- (113b) labda bab'angu mas'skini kaharibika
perhaps 1-father-poss1 poor [1]-perf- destroyed-stat
akili ghafla <s30.3>
9-mind suddenly
Perhaps my poor father's mind was destroyed suddenly.

There are two other constructions in Swahili which permit this apparent inversion of subject and object without passive morphology: the locative inversion as seen in (Ashton 1944:300) (114a/b), and the contra-experiential inversion or quasi-passive⁶ (Whiteley and Mganga 1969; Russell 1989:478) seen in (115a/b); the latter is used to point up some abnormality in the situation.

- (114a) simba amelala mwituni <*>
9-lion 1-perf-sleep 3-forest-loc
The lion is asleep in the forest.

- (114b) mwituni pamelala simba <*>
3-forest-loc 16-loc-perf-sleep 9-lion
In the forest there sleeps a lion.

- (115a) watu wengi wamekula chakula <*>
2-person 2-many 2-perf-eat 7-food
Many people have eaten food.

- (115b) chakula kimekula watu wengi <Whiteley 1969:114>
7-food 7-perf-eat 2-person 2-many
The food [meant for two] had to do for lots of people.

Unlike the passive inversion, the active inversion displays few emotions — only *majuto* 'remorse' and *ghadhabu* 'rage' following *kujaa* 'be full of'. Only *nguvu* 'strength' appears both in active and passive inversions. Verbs used include some that might be considered normally transitive, such as *kupata* 'to obtain', *kulovya* 'to make wet', *kupoteza* 'to lose', which may perhaps be considered marginal, but also clear intransitives such as *kuvunjika* 'be broken', *kuharibika* 'be destroyed', *kutetemeka* 'to tremble' (also in passive inversion).

There are examples with body fluids/gases (*kutoka jasho* ‘to exude sweat’, *kufoka pumzi* ‘to have racing breath/to pant’, and examples in which body and mind are contrasted (*kubalehe mwili tu si akili* ‘to be mature in body but not in mind’; *kuchoka kiwiliwili na akili* ‘to be tired in body and mind’; a number of examples occur with *miguu* ‘legs’: *kuweza miguu* (of a child able to stand on its own feet), *kutetemeka miguu* ‘to have legs trembling’, *kusita miguu* ‘to hesitate in one’s stride’.

The range of examples is thus generally more physical than is the case with the passive inversion (see 3.4.1), but how does it compare with the canonical form? Undoubtedly the canonical form is by far the more common, with over 200 examples against 24 of the active inversion. We do not think every canonical form is capable of inversion, for example we find:

- (116) *moyo* *ulimpiga* *kidogo* <d101.4>
 3-heart 3-pst-obj1-beat 7-little
 His heart beat a gently.

But we doubt:

- (117) **alipiga* *moyo* *kidogo* <*>
 1-pst-beat 3-heart 7-little

we suspect that in this case inversion is inhibited by the fact that *-piga* ‘beat’ has a more normal transitive valency, inviting the false reading ‘he beat his heart gently’

In some cases the active inversion may be favoured because of the syntactic complexity of the property, more easily accommodated in final position: *mwili tu si akili*, ‘in body but not in mind’ (A243), *maneno yaliyomganda kichwani* ‘words that had congested in his mind’ *mwili mzima* ‘whole body’, *mguu wake wa kushoto* ‘his left leg’. Similarly the active inversion may be convenient in a construction that deletes the subject: *kusimama mahali pamoja bila kutetemeka miguu* ‘to stand in one place without wobbling one’s legs’.

3.4.3 Implicit patient/possessor

⁶ Russell distinguishes constructions which have the possibility of undergoing passivization

All the intransitive constructions we have discussed so far involve the two elements of affectedness (that is the concern of this thesis), property and affected person. They are in effect two-termed constructions. The structure to be discussed in this section involves only one element of affectedness, the property. No explicit patient is involved at all so they are one-termed constructions of the structure [pr _]. Despite the difference in structure, these two construction types are very much related. In fact the existence of this particular construction affirms the title of this chapter 'intransitive affective construction'. These are all intransitive constructions and interestingly there is no clear difference in their meanings. Below are illustrations of the structure, each compared with an identical or nearly identical intransitive affective construction in terms of verb and property (or possessee).

- | | | | | | |
|--------|---|---------------------|------------|------------------|----------|
| (118a) | mbavu | zilipanda | na | kushuka | <d68.8> |
| | 10-ribs | 10-pst-climb | & | inf-descend | |
| | Her ribs rose and fell. | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| (118b) | kifua | kilimpanda | na | kumshuka | <u143.4> |
| | 7-chest | 7-pst-obj1-climb | & | inf-obj1-descend | |
| | Her chest rose and fell. | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| (119a) | machozi | yalitiririka | ovyo | | <d66.3> |
| | 6-tears | 6-pst-trickle | carelessly | | |
| | Tears trickled uncontrollably from him. | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| (119b) | machozi | yalimtiririka | | | <u133.2> |
| | 6-tears | 6-pst-obj1-trickle | | | |
| | Tears trickled from her. | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| (120a) | pua | inapwitapwita | | | <d28.7> |
| | 9-nose | 9-pres-throb-throb | | | |
| | nose is throbbing | | | | |
| | (His) nose is throbbing. | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| (120b) | mgongo | wanipwita | | | <d17.2> |
| | 3-back | 3-pres-obj1ps-throb | | | |
| | My back is throbbing. | | | | |

beginning *Waliendelea kulia* 'They continued to weep'. So the referent is not singular but plural and this can only be deduced from the context.

Several of the examples also occurs as subordinate clauses and sometimes this is indicated by the relative particle *-o* as in the examples below; the subordinate context may also favour the formal absence of possessor/patient.

- (124) *na kumtazama mama yake kwa macho yaliyoiva* <ny19.2>
 & inf-obj1-look 1/9-mother 9-poss1 with 6-eyes 6-pst-rel6-be_ripe
 And looked at her mother with eyes which were red.

- (125) *Ndipo Rehema alipoona ishara zenye kutisha katika*
 then Rehema 1-pst-rel16-see 10-sign 10-having inf-startle prep
uso ulioparama <ny167.2>
 11- face 11-pst-dry up
 When Rehema saw a startling look on his face which was dried up.

The examples of this construction are fewer in number; there are some 37 of them compared to about 217 examples of the canonical constructions including the topicalised ones. There seem to be no restrictions here in terms of property and verb.

3.4.4 Property qualified by possessor

A variant of this one-argument construction is one in which a property in subject position is qualified either by a possessive pronoun, as in (126)–(128), or by an explicit possessive construct, as in (129)–(130). The construction is annotated [pr* _].

- (126) *sauti yake ikitetemeka* <ny84.3>
 9-voice 9-poss1 9-sbsc-tremble
 As her voice trembled.
- (127) *akili yake ilighurika* <d56.2>
 9-brain 9-poss1 9-pst-deceive
 His mind deceived him.
- (128) *midomo yake imevimba* <d29.7>
 4-lips 4-poss1 4-perf-swell
 His lips are swollen.

We note this phenomenon only in the two books written by Said Ahmed Mohamed.

In one example the property is further qualified by a relative affix in the verb as seen below:

- (134) Pandu alinyoosha mikono yake inotetema <d65.2>
 Pandu 1-pst-stretch 4-hands 4-poss1 4-pres-rel4-tremble
 Pandu stretched out his trembling hands.

The examples with named possessors are relatively more by comparison; 17 examples. 15 examples occur with a proper name following a possessive link -a, for example (135)–(136) (also 129–130 above)

- (135) Hata mdomo wa Bi Tamima ulikwama <u45.4>
 even 3-lips 3-of Bi Tamima 3-pst-get_stuck
 Even Bi Tamima's lips were glued together (lit. got stuck)
- (136) Mikono ya Rehema ilitetemeka <ny140.1>
 4-hands 4-of Rehema 4-pst-tremble
 Rehema's hands trembled (as she opened the letter).

In two further examples the participant is introduced descriptively, in (137) by the possessive link -a (uso wa bwana moja) and in (138) by possessive pronoun -ake followed by possessor in apposition (mguu wake mgonjwa):

- (137) uso wa bwana mmoja ukichungulia <ny54.4>
 11-face 11-of 1-man 1-one 11-cncm-peep
 The face of a man was peeping.
- (138) Na mara moja mguu wake mgonjwa uliingia shimoni <u131.6>
 & time one 3-leg 3-poss1 1-patient 3-pst-enter 9-hole-loc
 And once the leg of the sick man slipped into a hole (and got scratched).

This construction type often occurs after direct speech and expresses the listener's/patient's reaction to the speech, as in (139)–(142).

- (139) Nafsi ya Aziza ilishituka <ny18.5>
 9-self 9-of Aziza 9-pst-startle
 Aziza's whole being was in shock.

- (140) Moyo wa Makuudi uligonga mfululizo <u123.8>
 3-heart 3-of Makuudi 4-pst-knock repeatedly
 Makuudi's heart drummed repeatedly.
- (141) Moyo wa Makuudi ulikaribia kung'oka. <u124.5>
 3-heart 3-of Makuudi 3-pst-draw_close inf-uproot
 Makuudi's heart nearly jumped (uprooted).
- (142) 'fimbo ya Mungu!' roho ya Salma ilinong'ona
 '9-rod 9-of God!' 9-mind 9-of Salma 9-pst-whisper
 tena ndani kwa ndani <ny163.3>
 again 9-inside 17-of inside
 'God's rod!' Salma's mind whispered again deep inside.

In (139) the construction occurs after a speech by Fuad, breaking the news of his second marriage to his first wife Aziza. The construction serves to bring Aziza into the foreground and at the same time express her reaction to the shocking news.

(140) and (141) are some nine short paragraphs apart. In the text, Makuudi is in the hall where Maimuna would be giving a singing performance. He had gone there with the intention of asking for forgiveness and persuading her to return home with him. In (140) Makuudi is seated among the audience waiting anxiously, and as the MC was in the process of introducing her Makuudi's heart began to drum in anticipation of seeing his daughter. In (141) his heart was startled again when the audience applauded Maimuna at the end of the MC's long introduction.

In example (142), Salma and her husband Karim were facing serious financial crisis following their tour around the world and the death of their father. Thoughts of self-accusations came to Salma telling her that the predicament was the 'rod of God', that is their state was a result of God punishing them.

There are 101 examples of this construction against 19 examples of the implicit counterpart in 3.4.3, the preceding section. The construction relates rather more closely to the canonical constructions because the patient is expressed through the possessive pronoun or noun-phrase.

The interchangeability of constructions apparent in examples (143a)–(144c) below reinforces the claim that the canonical structure is inherently intransitive, with the patient having optional expression as an added argument to the verb. There is no clear difference in meaning between the canonical, the implicit and the passive constructions.

- (143a) nywele zake zimetimka <ny54.4>
 10-hair 10-poss1 10-ruffle [pr* _]
 Her hair was ruffled.
- (143b) nywele zimetimka ovyo <u153.4>
 10-hair 10-perf-ruffle untidily [pr _]
 Her hair was ruffled untidily.
- (143c) nywele zimemtimka <ny163.2>
 10-hair 10-perf-obj1-ruffle [pr _-pt]
 Her hair was ruffled.
- (144a) mikono ya Rehema ilitetemeka <ny140.1>
 4-hand 4-of Rehema 4-pst-tremble [pr* _]
 Rehema's hands trembled.
- (144b) mkono ukatetemeka <d92.1>
 3-hand 3-sbsc-tremble [pr _]
 His hand trembled.
- (144c) Mikono na miguu ilikuwa ikimtetemeka. <u56.9>
 4-hands & 4-legs 4-pst-be 4-cncm-obj1-tremble [pr _-pt]
 Her hands and legs were trembling.

3.4.5 Surrogate patient

So far all the constructions we have discussed involve directly or indirectly an affected person and a property as the general notion of affectedness expects. The construction to be discussed in this section is a two-argument construction, and bears a relationship to the canonical construction [pr _-pt]; in terms of structure however, its basic structure involves two properties [pr _ pr] instead of a property and a patient as in the examples below:⁷

⁷ For the full set of examples considered, see A458–497.

- (145) kijaraha kilikuwa kikichimbuka damu <d16.4>
 7-sore 7-pst-be 7-cncm-dig out 9-blood
 The sore was bleeding.
- (146) akatazama nje kwa macho yaliyoloana machozi <ny65.8>
 1-sbsc-look 9-outside with 6-eyes 6-pst-rel6-wet-rc 6-tears
 (She stood at the window and) she looked out with eyes which were wet
 with tears.
- (147) na chunusi mbili-tatu zikatona uso wake <ny52.5>
 & 10-pimples two-three 10-sbsc-scar 11-face 11-poss1
 And two or three pimples had formed spots on her face.

In the above examples the affective relationship is between the two properties in subject and object position. The properties which are the objects of the constructions are not object marked as in the canonical examples.

In most cases there is a somewhat whole-part relation between the two properties where the 'whole' is in actual fact a 'part' of a 'whole' that is the patient, but is a 'whole' in relation to the second property as between kijaraha 'wound' and damu 'blood' in example (145), macho 'eyes' and machozi 'tears' in example (146) and uso 'face' and chunusi 'pimples' in example (147). In this respect we have taken the view that this construction is an extension of the active inverted construction of 3.4.2.

There are however a few cases in which there is no whole-part relationship between the two properties as in (148) and (149) below in which kifua 'chest' and machozi 'tears' and vidole 'fingers' and kidevu 'chin' cannot be said to have a whole-part relation.

- (148) kifua chake kikaroa machozi <d40.8>
 7-chest 7-poss1 7-sbsc-wet 6-tears
 His chest became wet with tears.
- (149) vidole vyake vilivyoshika ncha ya kidevu <ny112.10>
 8-fingers 8-poss1 8-pst-rel8-hold 9-tip 9-of 7-chin
 Her fingers which held the tip of her chin.

The properties in subject position are often concrete body parts such as eyes, face, and heart,⁸ while the 'partial' ones in object position are mostly body

⁸Heart may be argued as constituting a concrete internal organ or as an abstraction, the seat of emotions.

fluids or emotions such as sweat and tears in (150)-(152) and grief, desire and worry in examples (153)-(155) below. Some non-concrete parts that occur in subject position are *sauti* 'voice, which occurs 5 times (in 4 out of the 5 cases with *machizi* 'tears'), *nafsi* 'self/conscience' which occurs once and *hisia* 'feelings' which also occurs once.⁹

- (150) *uso* *mrefu* *ulioloa* *jasho* <ny94.10>
 11-face 11-long 11-pst-rel11-wet 9-sweat
 His long face that was wet with sweat.
- (151) *macho* *yake* *yalianza* *kulengalenga* *machizi* <u59.3>
 6-eyes 6-poss1 6-pst -begin inf-be_tearful 6-tears
 Tears begun to form in her eyes.
- (152) *macho* *yalishaanza* *kuiva* *machizi* <u107.7>
 6-eyes 6-pst-begin inf-be_ripe 6-tears
 His eyes had already begun to go red with tears.
- (153) *moyo* *wake* *umejaa* *tamaa* <ny139.5>
 3-heart 3-poss1 3-perf-be_filled 9-desire
 Her heart was filled with desire.
- (154) *macho* *yake* *yalimeta* *furaha* <ny56.5>
 6-eyes 6-poss1 6-pst-glitter 9-joy
 Her eyes sparkled with joy.
- (155) *uso* *wake* *umehozi* *jitimai* <d57.10>
 11-face 11-poss1 11-perf-possess 9-grief
 Her face was grieved.
- (156) *na* *kichwa* *kilichojaa* *wasiwasi* <ny38.3>
 1nk 7-head 7-pst-rel7-be filled 9-worry
 And a head filled with worry.

The verbs employed here are mainly those that are used intransitively, no different from those used in the canonical constructions. We have labelled this construction "surrogate patient" on the strength of the parallel with the active inverted structure illustrated in (157)-(158), where the wider property appears to take the place of the patient in subject position. It is interesting that the comparison is to be made with this construction and not the canonical one,

⁹ There are 4 examples in which the property in object position is a concrete body part: A474, A478, A480 and A459. However the verbs involved in them are contestably transitive.

suggesting that it is only a personal possessor that can be raised to become affective object.

- (157) uso mrefu ulioloa jasho <ny94.10>
 11-face 11-long 11-pst-rel11-wet 9-sweat
 His long face that was wet with sweat.

- (158) yeyote asiyetoka jasho <d58.7>
 1-anybody 1-neg-opt-rel1-go_out 5-sweat
 Anyone who does not sweat.

Although as mentioned earlier the verbs in this construction are regarded as intransitive, there are some that may reflect valency patterns of the verbs that are not restricted to personal reference. Examples of such verbs are *-jaa* 'fill', and *-loa* 'wet'. Compare (156) above with (159) below:

- (159) ulimwengu umejaa maajabu <d60.3>
 11-world 11-perf-be_fill 6-wonders
 The world is full of wonders.

It is interesting to note that all the occurrences of *-loa* 'get wet' in our corpus are affective or affective-related, while the affective uses of *-jaa* 'be full' mirror those of the non-affective uses of the verb, with the occasional addition of an affective object, see discussion in 3.2.3.

Although, traditionally the argument in object position would be described as 'objects', Scotton (1981 a & b) regards the 'object' in such cases as constituting the 'extensive case' where the property in object position indicates the extent to which the property in subject position is affected by the action of the verb.¹⁰ In the examples (160)–(163) below, the function or role of the second NP or property is not that of patient or affected person but is descriptive, it plays an adjunctive role because it describes the state of the subject as a modifier.

- (160) macho yalishaanza kuiva machozi <u107.7>
 6-eyes 6-pst-already-begin inf-be_ripe 6-tears
 His eyes had already begun to go red with tears.

- (161) na macho yake yakimeta furaha <ny56.5>
 & 6-eyes 6-poss1 6-cncm-sparkle 9-joy

¹⁰ Scotton (1981 a & b) describes the properties in all affective constructions as constituting the extensive case.

Her eyes sparkled with joy.

- (162) Katika moyo wake uliokuwa ukichemka ari <ny23.1>
 prep 3-heart 3-poss1 3-pst-rel3-be 3-cncm-boil 9-determination
 In her heart which was boiling with determination [as she ran away
 from home].

- (163) Uso wa Bi Nafisa umepasua furaha <d77.2>
 11-face 11-of Bi Nafisa 11-perf-burst 9-joy
 Bi Nafisa's face burst out with joy.

3.4.6 Construction with two properties and affective patient

Some examples (collected at A498–508) exhibit three arguments made up of two properties and a patient as in (164)–(167) below:

- (164) pumzi zilimjaa kifua tele <u157.7>
 10-breath 10-pst-obj1-fill 7-chest full
 Her breath filled her chest to the brim.

- (165) Kumbe hamaki zilimziba macho <d30.1>
 behold 10-anger 10-pst-obj1-block 6-eyes
 Behold anger blinded her eyes.

- (166) Roho imemjaa joto <u46.2>
 9-heart 9-perf-obj1-fill 9-heat
 Her heart was filled with heat

- (167) maumivu yaliyomwunguza ini na moyo wake <u175.2>
 6-pains 6-pst-rel6-obj1-burn-cs 9-liver & 3-heart 3-poss1
 The pain that had seared his liver and heart

These constructions are similar to the surrogate patient constructions in 3.4.5 in terms of the occurrence of two properties but there is an additional argument, the patient that occurs in the verbal complex, as the direct object instead of the second property. As a result of the explicit patient, the property in subject position cannot be referred to as a surrogate for the patient. The verbs used in the two constructions do not coincide apart from *-jaa* 'fill' (which so far has occurred in all the related constructions apart from the passive).¹¹ What

¹¹ Of three instances involving *kujaa* collected in this section, one (166) parallels (21b) (see 3.2.3), with *roho* 'the heart' as 'container' in subject position and *joto* 'heat' as 'contents', but the other examples

happens here is one intimate property affecting another, with the property in subject position acting as the instigator of the action. Perhaps we can speak of the subject property not as surrogate patient but as surrogate agent. The construction would then be closely parallel to the transitive affective constructions considered in chapter 4, compare the following two examples.

- (168) Damu ilimchiririka na kumziba uso <u143.4>
 9-blood 9-pst-obj1-trickle & inf-obj1-block 11-face
 Blood trickled from her and blotted her face.

- (169) chura akimbaka nyoka na kumziba
 9/1-frog 1-cncm-obj1-pounce 9/1-snake & inf-obj1-block
pumzi <d114.2>
 9-breath
 The frog pounced on the snake and stopped its breath.

The verbs used here are comparable to those used in transitive affective constructions in terms of transitivity though the only verbs that have occurred in both constructions in our data are *-ziba* 'block' which occurs four times here with a body part in object position and *-toa* 'remove' which occurs twice here.

In fact perhaps strictly this construction belongs with those in 4.2.2 where the agent is represented by nouns best described as theme and not human as in the canonical construction.

3.4.7 Constructions with locative properties.

Locative expressions in Swahili are usually marked by the locative enclitic *-ni* which is appended to the noun, or by locative prepositions such as *katika* 'in/at' and *kwenye* 'at', 'in the location of'. Locatives are used in conjunction with

(164) and (A498) in the Appendix have the properties reversed, with pumzi 'breath' filling the chest (kifua), and dovuo (saliva) filling the mouth (kinywa); the container' is elsewhere locative where 'contents' are in subject position, see discussion in 3.2.3.

nouns when the speaker's attention is on a particular place and this usually occurs when the verb involved expects a locative argument as in the example below:

- (170) asipite nyumbani kwa kakaake <u73.1>
 1-neg-pass 9-house-loc 17-of 9-brother-poss1
 he shouldn't pass by his brothers house.

All nouns may occur with the locative prepositions mentioned above to denote location or place. The locative suffix *-ni* however is restricted to some nouns, especially nouns of Bantu origin and those of foreign origin that have been fully assimilated into Bantu morphology. While *nyumba-ni* 'in or at the house' is accepted **posta-ni* 'at or in the post office, is not accepted. Among nouns that can occur with the locative suffix are some of the nouns classified here as intimate properties, specifically body parts such as *macho* 'eyes', *kifua* 'chest', *kichwa* 'head' and abstract properties such as *roho* 'heart or spirit' and *akili* 'mind or brain'. When such intimate properties are used they literally or figuratively indicate a particular position or place of a part of the body or self as in *machoni* 'in the eyes', *kifuani* 'in/on the chest' and *akilini* 'in the mind'. Locative morphemes other than the ones specified above may also be used. Examples are *ndani ya* 'inside' and *karibu na* 'near'.

A number of constructions feature properties with locative marking of which the following examples are illustrative.

- (171) fikra zilipanda kichwani <d92.1>
 10-thought 10-pst-climb 7-head-loc
 His thoughts rose up in his head.
- (172) damu zinaamchuririka usoni <d116.10>
 10-blood 10-pres-obj1-trickle 11-face-loc
 Blood is trickling down his face.
- (173) Machizi yalikuwa yakisogea machoni mwake <ny145.5>
 6-tears 6-pst-be 6-cncm-push 6-eyes-loc 18-poss1
 Tears were forcing their way out of her eyes.
- (174) jasho lilipokuwa likichimbuka katika ngozi yake <ny103.6>
 5-sweat 5-pst-rel16-be 5-cncm-come_out prep 9-skin 9-poss1
 Sweat was coming out of his skin.

- (175) [machozi] yakamtiririka kwenye mashavu yake <u38.7>
 6-eyes 6-sbsc-obj1-trickle prep 6-cheeks 6-poss1
 Tears trickled down her cheeks.

—In examples (171)–(173) above of the structures, respectively [pr _ pr/l], [pr-pt pr/l] and [pr_ pr*/l], the postverbal properties are marked by the locative enclitic *-ni*, as *kichwa-ni*, *uso-ni* and *macho-ni*.

—In examples (174) & (175), respectively [pr _ pr*/p] and [pr _-pt pr*/p], they are preceded by the prepositions *katika* ‘in/at’ and *kwenye* ‘at’ respectively.

—In examples (172) and (175) the patient is explicitly marked on the verb (realising a locative version of the intransitive affective construction); in (171), (173) and (174) the patient is implicit.

—In examples (173)–(175) the post-verbal locative properties have possessive markers after them.

Citations with affective object are listed at A509–43; citations without affective object are at A433–42.

There are many examples with personal object and property in locative, of which some also have property in subject position, as (172) and (175) above. However as examples (176)–(180) show the nouns in subject positions are not restricted to nouns of intimate or personal relation but extend to a wide range of other unrelated nouns, such as *vuke* ‘odour’, *ujuba* ‘violence’, *nzi* ‘fly’, *jua* ‘sun’ and *posa* ‘marriage proposal’.

- (176) Vuke kali lilimpanda puani. <u91.4>
 5-odour 5-fierce 5-pst-obj1-climb 9-nose-loc
 A powerful odour (steam) rose into her nose (from the beer).
- (177) Ujuba unamwenda midomoni <d34.4>
 11-violence 11-pres-obj1-go 4-mouth-loc
 Violence [dirty words] came into his mouth.
- (178) [Nzi] mmoja alimtua usoni <d49.16>
 9-fly 1/9-one 1-pst-obj1-rest 11-face-loc
 A fly landed on his face.
- (179) Jua kali na joto limewakaa rohoni <u67.5>
 5-sun 5-fierce and 5-heat 5-perf-obj2-sit 9-heart-loc
 The fierce sun and the heat was oppressive (lit. sat on their heart).

- (180) *posa zimekwisha kumdondoka mdomoni mwake* <s78.2>
 10-proposal 10-perf-finish inf-obj1-slip 3-mouth-loc 18-poss1
 The marriage proposal had slipped out of his grip (lit. dripped from his mouth)

It seems therefore that the affective object asserts the ownership of the locative property, and what occurs in subject position is more accidental.¹²

Comparing again these constructions to the surrogate patient constructions sometimes the occurrence of the locative property appears to be a matter of choice. Let us compare the following pair of constructions:

- (181) *pumzi zilimjaa kifua* <u157.7>
 10-breath 10-pst-obj1-fill 7-chest
 His breath filled his chest.
- (182) *pumzi zilimjaa kifuani* <u155.7>
 10-breath 10-pst-obj1-fill 7-chest-loc
 His breath filled his chest.

Both the above pair of examples are acceptable. They indicate the close relationship between the surrogate patient construction in 3.4.5 and this locative construction in the way the post-verbal property is associated with the patient through an affective object.

Considering now examples both with and without affective object, verbs of motion and position (see 3.2.3) participate frequently in intransitive affective constructions, and naturally 'expect' a locative argument.

Among these verbs are *-enda* 'go', *-pita* 'pass', *-ninginia* 'hang/dangle', *-churirika* 'trickle', and *-tua* 'settle', *-kaa* 'sit' and *-dondoka* 'drip' as seen in examples (178)–(181). In effect the use of motional and positional verbs often result in of the use of locative properties. In addition to the nature of the verbs involved, the use of locative also indicates clearly the direction of the action being performed and the intimate property that is affected by the action of the verb. The actions occurring in these cases can be described as involuntary in

¹² There could be a hesitation whether the object marker *-m(w)-* in this case is actually of class 1 or the locative class 18; if this were the case, it would be difficult to establish why class 18 was used to the exclusion of classes 16 and 17. However, the interpretation of the object marker as personal is confirmed in (179) where the object marker is the plural class 2 *-wa-*.

the sense that functionally the intimate possession in subject position can be said to be neither agent nor patient to the verb.

The properties that occur with the locatives are restricted mainly to physical parts of the body, although *hisia* 'feelings' also occurs. A variety of properties occur in subject position.

Clothing:

- (183) *suti* yake ya lasi ilimkaa vyema *mwilini* mwake
 9-suit 9-poss1 9-of 5-silk 9-pst-obj1-stay well 3-body-loc18-poss1
 <s54.8>

His silk suit suited his body well.

- (184) [ile *kaniki*] ilikuwa imeporomoka hadi *tumboni* <65.1>
 [that 9-cloth] 9-pst-be 9-perf-slip_down up_to 5-stomach-loc
 [the cloth] had slipped down unto her stomach.

- (185) *tai* iliyozongoka ikining'inia *shingoni* pake <ny163.2>
 9-neck_tie 9-rel9-unwind 9-cncm-hang 5-neck-loc 16-poss1
 His tie unwound tie hanged there on his neck.

Transient features:

- (186) *majaraha* yakitonesha *kifuani* na *miguuni* <ny27.2>
 6-sores 6-cncm-scar 7-chest-loc & 4-legs-loc
 Wounds had scarred her chest and legs.

- (187) *ndevu* zake za beberu zimestawi *kidevuni* <d99.4>
 10-beard 10-poss1 10-of he-goat 10-perf-grow 7-chin-loc
 And his beard as that of a he goat has grown on his chin.

Body fluids:

- (188) *machozi* yalifunguka katika *macho* yake <ny18.8>
 6-eyes 6-pst-be_open prep 6-eyes 6-poss1
 Tears were released from his eyes.

Emotions:

- (189) lile *sisitizo* lililochimbuka na kumea ndani ya
 dem5 5-regret 5-pst-rel5-come_out & inf-grow in 9-of
hisia zake <d1.4>
 10-feelings 10-poss1

Sometimes the locative marked properties are qualified by possessives as seen in examples (183) and (185). The properties in subject position may also be

qualified by possessives especially if they are further qualified, eg *suti yake ya lasi* 'his silk suit', *ndevu zake za beberu* 'his goatee beard' above. There is one example of both properties occurring in the construction being marked by possessive as in example (183).

In the following paired examples (190a) -(192b) we may observe an alternation of structures involving the same or similar pairs of properties occurring in different orders dependent on the verb. The first example of each pair exemplifies the structure discussed in 3.4.5, the second uses a locative for its second property argument (the 'container')

(190a) macho yalishaanza kuiva machozi <u107.7>
6-eyes 6-pst-begin inf-be ripe 6-tears
His eyes had already begun to go red with tears.

(190b) Machozzi yalikuwa yakisogea machoni mwake <ny145.5>
6-tears 6-pst-be 6-cncm-push 6-eyes-loc 18-poss1
Tears were forcing their way out of her eyes.

(191a) uso mrefu ulioloa jasho <ny94.10>
11-face 11-long 11-pst-rel5-wet 5-sweat
His long face that was wet with sweat.

(191b) jasho lilipokuwa likichimbuka katika ngozi yake <ny103.6>
5-sweat 5-pst-rel16-be 5-cncm-come_out prep 9-skin 9-poss1
Sweat was coming out of his skin.

(192a) uso wake umejaa tabasamu <d105.2>
11-face 11-poss1 11-perf-fill 9-tabasamu
His face was filled with a smile.

(192b) tabasamu ikatokeza katika uso wake wenye haiba <ny1.2>
9-smile 9-sbsc-appear prep 11-uso 11-poss1 having 9-beauty
A smile appeared on her beautiful face.

In the (a) examples the properties in subject position can be regarded as the whole (and the one in object position as the part) or as commented in section 3.4.5 as the 'surrogate patient'. They also do not involve locative markers. In the (b) examples the properties in post-verbal position can be regarded as the whole (and the one in subject position as the part); not only are the roles reversed but in addition, locative markers are used with the 'surrogate patient' to show that they are 'the whole' into which or from which the 'part' is drawn.

For instance in (192) smile can only be in a face but not vice-versa. The (b) examples are also motivated by the verb, which usually dictates the direction of the action whether from whole to part or from part to whole. The verbs *-tokeza* 'come_out', *-chimbuka* 'come_out/ooze' and *-sogea* 'draw_close' involve motion to or from, hence they expect a locative argument to the right.

CHAPTER 4: TRANSITIVE AFFECTIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces a second affective construction, the Transitive affective construction. The basic transitive affective construction is a three arguments construction as in example (1a) with its subject labelled as agent, direct object as patient or affected person and secondary object as a patient related property or intimate property. It is debatable which of these objects “corresponds” to the direct object of the non-affective construction, since either may occur alone, see examples (1b) and (1c), but it is the (animate) patient that is marked by object concord when both are present in the affective construction.

Example:

- (1a) [Fumu] **alimkamata** **mabega** [Kazija] <d20.2>
 [Fumu] 1-pst-obj1-grasp 6-shoulders [Kazija]
 He [Fumu] grabbed her [Kazija's] by the shoulders.
- (1b) hapo hapo kakamata **simu** <d109.14>
 There there perf- seize 9-telephone
 there and then he seized the telephone.
- (1c) mkikamata mwizi msimpige bali mpelekeni
 2-cncm-grasp 1-thief 2-neg-obj1-beat but 2-send
 kwenye kituo cha polisi (Bakhressa 1992, under kamata)
 to 7-stop 7-of 9-police
 If you catch a thief do not beat him but take him to the police station.

In (1a) **a-** represents the subject, **-m-** represents the direct object and **mabega** ‘shoulders’ the secondary object. Examples (1b) and (1c) share the same verb **-kamata** ‘grasp’ with inanimate and animate object.

The following pair of examples similarly show the verb **-vuta** ‘draw to oneself’ in affective and ordinary constructions. **-Vuta** with animate object has the distinct sense ‘attract’

(2a) na mara amvute mkono <u48.7>
 & at_once 1-pull-sjc 3-hand
 And immediately he pulled her hand.

(2b) tena alivuta kalamu <d89.6>
 again 1-pst-pull 9-pen
 Then he reached for a/his pen.

The (a) constructions demonstrate the ditransitive nature of the transitive affective construction which involves two objects one representing the patient and the other representing the property. For similar constructions in Sotho see Voeltz (1972) and 2.2 (p.39f) above.

4.1.1 Semantic range of construction

The agents and patients of transitive affective constructions are normally human, but there is one case where both are animal:

(3) chura akimbaka nyoka na kumziba pumzi
 9/1-frog 1-cncm-obj1-pounce_on 9/1-snake & inf-obj1-block 10-breath
 <d114.2>

The frog pounced on the snake and stopped its breath.

Here the affective *kumziba* pumzi is preceded by the ordinary transitive *akimbaka*.

The properties that occur in transitive affective constructions are mainly body parts, with few abstract properties and clothing. The body part that occurs most is mkono 'hand'. The number of occurrence of each property is listed in Table 4.1 below. The abstract properties include nouns expressing emotions and state of mind such as woga 'fear' and wazimu 'insanity', which are used with *-tia* 'instil' and *-toa* 'remove'. They also include roho 'soul', akili 'mind' and pumzi 'breath'.¹ Moyo 'heart' is a concrete body part, internal to the body.

¹ There is one example worth mentioning in which *pesa* 'money' occurs in an affective construction:

Bw. Hafifu alimkata Saidi pesa katika
 Bw. Hafifu 1-pstobj1-cut Saidi 10-money prep
 mshahara wake <s81.2>
 3-wages 3-poss1
 Bw. Hafifu deducted some money from Saidi's wages.

Though it is often used to refer to the physical beating of the heart in chapter 3, in this construction it is used of the seat of emotions in expressions like *kupoza moyo* 'cool heart, calm heart'.

Table 4.1

<i>mkono</i> 'hand'	20	<i>kifua</i> 'chest'	1
<i>moyo</i> 'heart'	5	<i>mwili</i> 'body'	1
<i>roho</i> 'soul'	5	<i>mdomo</i> 'lip'	1
<i>mguu</i> 'leg'	4	<i>vifungo</i> 'buttons'	1
<i>bega</i> 'shoulder'	4	<i>dhiki</i> 'distress'	1
<i>nguo</i> 'clothes'	3	<i>tabia</i> 'behaviour'	1
<i>tumbo</i> 'stomach'	2	<i>kichwa</i> 'head'	1
<i>uso</i> 'face'	2	<i>ujinga</i> 'folly'	1
<i>macho</i> 'eyes'	2	<i>woga</i> 'fear'	1
<i>kofia</i> 'hat'	1	<i>wazimu</i> 'insanity'	1
<i>koti</i> 'coat'	1	<i>akili</i> 'mind'	1
<i>tai</i> 'tie'	1	<i>pumzi</i> 'breath'	1
<i>damu</i> 'blood'	1		

The verbs employed in transitive affective constructions are always transitive as indicated by the name given to the construction. They are typically verbs of action (including some causatives: *-tuturisha* 'trouble', *-rekebisha* 'put right', *-shugulisha* 'occupy' and *-poza* 'to reassure') that take a single object elsewhere in the grammar.

The various verbs attested in the construction are set out in Table 4.2 (below), together with the properties with which they are collocated and the number of occurrences with each property. They fall into three groups, which may conveniently be labelled as verbs of 'grooming', 'grasping' and 'grappling'.

The motivation for the use of an affective construction may be that *pesa* 'money' clearly an alienable noun is being regarded as inalienable because it is representative of one's 'sweat' or energy put into the work that earns him his wages. Another possibility is that *-kata pesa* is to be regarded as a phrasal verb.

Table 4.2

Grooming and caring

-chua 'massage'	
<u>tumbo</u> 'stomach'	1
-kanda 'massage'	
<u>mguu</u> 'leg'	1
-poza 'comfort'	
<u>moyo</u> 'heart'	1
-vua 'undress'	
<u>nguo</u> 'clothes'	3
-badili 'change'	
<u>nguo</u> 'clothes'	2
-rekebisha 'put straight'	
<u>kofia</u> 'hat'	1
-funga 'tie'	
<u>tai</u> 'tie'	1
-inua 'raise'	
<u>mkono</u> 'hand, arm'	1
<u>uso</u> 'face'	1
-zungushia 'put around'	
<u>mikono</u> 'arms'	1
-futa 'wipe'	
<u>damu</u> 'blood'	1
-fungua 'undo'	
<u>vifungo</u> 'buttons'	1
-funika 'close'	
<u>macho</u> 'eyes'	1

Grasping

-shika 'hold'	
<u>mkono</u> 'hand, arm'	8
<u>bega</u> 'shoulder'	3
<u>sikio</u> 'ear'	1
-kamata 'grasp'	
<u>bega</u> 'shoulder'	4
<u>mkono</u> 'hand, arm'	2
-vuta 'pull'	
<u>mkono</u> 'hand, arm'	2
<u>bega</u> 'shoulder'	1

Grappling

-vunja 'break'	
<u>kichwa</u> 'head'	1
-funga 'tie'	
<u>mikono na miguu</u>	
'arms and legs'	1
-tuturisha 'trouble'	
<u>moyo</u> 'heart'	1
-ziba 'block'	
<u>pumzi</u> 'breath'	1
-kaba 'throttle'	
<u>roho</u> 'soul, life'	1
-bigija 'throttle'	
<u>roho</u> 'soul'	1

The first group is made up of verbs which may be described as verbs of grooming. Examples are *-kanda* 'massage', *-chua* 'rub', *-poza* 'comfort', *-funga* 'knot a tie'.

- (4) [Pandu] akaanza kumkanda miguu [Bi Staghafiru] <d69.3>
 [P] 1-sbsc-begin inf-obj1-massage 4-legs [B S]
 He [P] begun to massage her [B S's] legs.
- (5) akimchua mamaake tumbo <u36.10>
 1-cncm-obj1-rub her_mother 5-stomach
 She rubbed her mother's stomach.
- (6) [Maimuna] akimpoza moyo [Tamima] <u20.2>
 [M] 1-cncm-obj1-comfort-cs 3-heart [T]
 She [M] comforted her [T].

The above verbs express the act of doing something to the body or 'self' of a person on his behalf, that is things that one would normally do for or by themselves without assistance when not incapacitated, especially things that one would do for a sick person as in the first two examples. Some verbs of this group are normally used in auto-referential constructions (see chapter 5), examples are *-vua* 'undress' and *-badili* 'change (clothing)'.

The second group is made up of verbs of grasping, they are *-shika* 'take hold of', *-kamata* 'grasp' and *-vuta* 'pull'. These verbs usually demonstrate or give an outward or physical expression to an inward feeling or reaction. *-shika* which occurs 12 times occurs more times than the rest of the verbs, it usually expresses a handshake or taking hold of another's hand to express moral or emotional support. However these grasping verbs may be used both positively and negatively depending on the context in which they are used.

In the examples (9) and (10), though the verb used is the same and has the same meaning, it is used in different senses. In the example (9) Maksuudi is physically threatening Tamima by pulling her hand. It is used in a negative sense. In example(10) there is no 'negativity' meant, Mama Jeni is coaxing Maimuna up and she does so by tugging at her hand.

- (9) [Maksuudi] na mara amvute mkono [Tamima] <u48.7>
 [M] & at_once 1-sjc-obj1-pull 3-hand [T]
 And at once he [M] pulled her by the hand [threatening T].
- (10) Mama Jeni alimvuta mkono Maimuna <u64.3>
 Mama Jeni 1-pst-obj1-pull 3-hand Maimuna
 Mama Jeni pulled up Maimuna by the hand [coaxing her up]

The third group of verbs are verbs of malevolent intention, conveniently labelled 'grappling'. They may also express disapproval or even a physical attack as in *-kaba* 'throttle', *-vunja* 'break' as in:

- (11) [Mzee Jaku:] walinivunja kichwa changu kwa nyundo <d2.8>
 [Mzee Jaku:] 3pl-obj1ps-break 7-head 7- poss1ps prep 9-hammer
 They broke my head with a hammer.
- (12) [angalikuwa tayari kumrukia Bwana Msa] na hata
 [1-cond-be ready inf-obj1-jump-app Bwana Msa] & even
 kumkaba roho <s85.4>
 inf- obj1-throttle 9-spirit
 He would be ready to jump at Bwana Msa and even throttle him.

There are a few other verbs which clearly do not belong to these three categories, but can still be classified under a benevolent/malevolent dichotomy especially when the subject is inanimate. Examples are:

- (13) Ulimwengu umenitoa woga <u154.9>
 11-world 11-perf- obj1ps -remove 11-fear
 The world has removed my fear.
- (14) mtazamo wa kumtia dhiki ya roho <s33.2>
 3-look 3-of inf-obj1-put 9-distress 9-of 9-soul
 A look to implant in him distress of soul.

Some of the collocations in Table 4.2 are idiomatic and may perhaps be regarded as phrasal verbs e.g.

<i>-kaba roho</i>	'throttle'	lit. squeeze spirit
<i>-poza moyo</i>	'comfort'	lit. cool heart
<i>-shika miguu</i>	'appeal to'	lit. hold feet
<i>-shika mkono</i>	'shake hands with'	lit. hold hands

4.1.2 Relationship between transitive affective construction and applicative and dative constructions

These affective constructions although usually without any verbal extensions have a general meaning similar to that of the applicative. In mainstream grammar it is the applicative extensions that require additional arguments to be grammatically acceptable. The applicative extended verbs are used most commonly in the sense of someone doing something on behalf of or against another.²

- (15) 'Ngoja kwanza nikufanyie wewe dawa. <ny111.2>
 'wait first 1-obj2ps-make-appl-sjc you 9-medicine
 'Wait first and let me make you some medicine.'

The transitive affective construction is superficially similar to applicative constructions. This is basically because in comparison with a simple transitive construction as in (16a), both transitive affective and applicative constructions involve an additional predicate argument (16b & c). In the case of (16b) *moyo* 'heart' belongs intimately to the person represented by the object/patient; in the case of (16c) *heshima* 'respect' does not intimately belong and therefore expects an object representing the beneficiary.

- (16a) amevunja heshima? <d7.4>
 1-perf-break 9-respect
 Has he been disrespectful?

- (16b) kofi zile chache zilizopigwa zilimvunja
 10-claps 10-dem 10-few 10-pst-rel10-beat-pass 10-pst-obj1-break
moyo <u79.4>
 3-heart
 Those few claps broke his heart.

² The applicative which has also been referred to as the prepositional form, may also be used to express motion towards, purpose or even to indicate completeness (Ashton 1944:218-220). For a later discussion of applicatives see Port 1981.

- (18) Alikiweka begani kitoto chake,
 1-pst-obj7 5-shoulder-loc 7-child 7-poss1
 akakiendesha mbweu,
 1-sb-sc-obj7-drive_out 9-belching
 kisha akakibadili nguo <ny15.2>
 then 1-sb-sc-obj7-change 10-clothes
 She put her child on her shoulder, she winded her, then changed her
 clothes.

In the above citation, Aziza places her child (Rehema) on her shoulder, winds her and changes her clothes. These actions portray the act of caring or doing things for her child. We may compare example (15) which uses the applicative.

Like the applicative verbs, the transitive affective construction is also similar to other ditransitive verbs which do not involve verbal extensions. Compare the following example with the above examples of transitive affective constructions.

- (19) sasa unanipa kazi tena <s41.2>
 now 2ps-pres-obj1ps-give 9-work again
 Now you are giving me work again.

Structurally, the affective transitive construction is very similar to ditransitive except that the object of the ditransitive construction is sometimes described as 'dative' rather than patient! Perhaps the default order is [dat th] for the ditransitive and [pr pt] for the transitive affective construction, but this order may change in order to postpone the structurally more complex argument as in (20). Cf also example (A570) in the Appendix.

- (20) Ni kama kumpa maji **mtu** asiye na kiu
 Cop like inf-obj1-give 6-water 1-person 1- neg-rel1 Ink 9-thirst
 It is like giving some water to a man who is not thirsty.
 <Ashton 1944:301>

In both constructions, the subject NP is agent. The primary object of the ditransitive construction does not have any specific restrictions but is usually dative, while that of the transitive affective is restricted to affected person. The secondary object in the transitive affective is also restricted to what we have described as intimate possession while that of the ditransitive construction has no restrictions.

4.2 Thematic structure of principal construction

In the present section we consider variations in the thematic structure of the transitive affective construction.

The first sub-section 4.2.1 is concerned with the specification or non-specification of the patient, and in the former case, the relative order of patient and property [ag _-pt pr; ag _-pt pr pt; ag _-pt pt pr].

The following sub-section 4.2.2 is concerned with cases in which the animate agent is replaced by an inanimate theme [th _-pt pr], but which nevertheless appear to be variants of the same construction.

4.2.1 Constructions with animate agent as subject

In the first and most common variant of the construction, the patient is represented only by an object-marker in the verb, as in examples (21–24).

- (21) [Rehema] alikwenda mbio kumshika mkono [Bikiza]<ny149.3>
 [R] 1-pst-go fast inf-obj1-hold 3-hand [B]
 She [R] hurried to take her [B's] hand.
- (22) haya natumvue nguo <u34.7>
 okay hort-1pl -obj1-undress-sjc 10-clothes
 Okay let us remove her clothes/undress her.
- (23) Alimkamata mabega <d20.2>
 1-pst-obj1-grasp 6-shoulders
 He [Fumu] grasped her [Kazija's] shoulders.
- (24) [Pandu] akaanza kumkanda miguu [Bi Staghafiru]<d69.3>
 [Pandu] 1-sbsc-begin inf-obj1-massage 4-legs [Bi Staghafiru]
 He began to massage her legs.

The direct object or patient is represented by the object pronoun in the verb and this is then followed by the property.

The examples of this structure occur far more frequently than the others hence they may be referred to as the unmarked form of the construction.

There is normally no explicit indication of the possessive relationship between the patient which is the possessor and the property which is the possessee, though exceptions are noted towards the end of the section.

In the second variant of the construction [ag _pt pr pt] the patient is expressed explicitly and occurs in final position as seen in the examples below:

- (25) akamwinua mkono Bi Stagafiru <d65.3>
 1-sbsc-obj1-raise 3-hand Bi Stagafiru
 He raised Bi Stagafiru's hand.
- (26) ...alisema Rehema huku amemshika mkono Bikiza <ny114.2>
 1-pst-say Rehema as 1-perf-obj1-hold 3-hand Bikiza
 ...said Rehema as she held Bikiza's hand.
 Cf A586, 589
- (27) Mama Jeni alimvuta mkono Maimuna <u64.3>
 Mama Jeni 1-pst-obj1-pull 3-hand Maimuna
 Mama Jeni pulled Maimuna's hand.
- (28) Kabi alimkamata bega Maimuna <u161.7>
 Kabi 1-pst-obj1-hold 5-shoulder Maimuna
 Kabi held Maimuna's shoulder.
 Cf A587
- (29) Biti Kocho alimkamata mkono Tamima <u54.4>
 Biti Kocho 1-pst-obj1-hold 3-hand Tamima
 Biti Kocho held Tamima's hand.
- (30) ...na kumshika sikio Rehema <ny113.14>
 & inf-obj1-hold 5-ear Rehema
 ...And held Rehema's ear.
- (31) [Farashuu na] Kocho wakamvua nguo Bi Tamima <u34.7>
 [Farashuu &] Kocho 2-sbsc-obj1-undress 9-clothes Bi Tamima
 Kocho and the others undressed Bi Tamima.
- (32) Maimuna alimvuta bega Kijakazi <u142.8>
 Maimuna 1-pst-obj1-pull 5-shoulder Kijakazi
 Maimuna tugged at Kijakazi's shoulder.

It is noteworthy that in a high proportion of cases the patient is explicitly named or uniquely identified; this is probably a reflection of the inherent ambiguity where multiple participants are involved. Out of the 10 attested

examples of this structure there is only 1 example which does not have a proper name representing the patient.

- (33) Kidawa alimshika mkono mgeni wake <ny56.2>
 Kidawa 1-pst-obj1-hold 3-hand 1-stranger 1-poss1
 Kidawa held his guest's hand.

Here *mgeni* 'guest' is used as a unique qualifier of the patient. Just a proper name is not enough to portray the writer's intentions. The aim of the writer is to let the reader know the status of the patient as 'his special guest'.

The third variant of the structure [ag _-pt pt pr], in which patient and property are reversed in order, is the most marked variant of the construction. There are only 4 examples in the data, including:

- (34) akimchua mamaake tumbo <u36.10>
 1-cncm-obj1-rub her_mother 5-stomach
 She (midwife) rubbed her (Maimuna's) mother's stomach.

- (35) walimfunga dada miguu na mikono <d21.7>
 2-pst-obj1-tie 1/9-sister 4-legs & 4-hands
 They tied my sister's legs and hands.

It is noteworthy that in both these cases the patient is represented by a kinship term rather than a personal name. In both cases, the patient is well-established in the context, so is not specified as new; rather what is being highlighted is the relationship of the patient to other actors in the drama. In the first case, (34), Maimuna, secluded daughter now plotting her escape has against her father's instructions gone to summon a midwife to her mother, and is now watching the midwife as she prepares her mother for labour. In the second case (35), Kazija is describing the forcible consummation of her sister's forced marriage, and her listener is the impoverished farmer (Fumu) who had himself hoped one day to wed Masika. In both cases therefore, the use of a kinship term emphasises the emotional closeness of the events described.

On the other hand, after pre-sentential topic position the second most prominent position in the clause is final position, sometimes referred to as

anti-topic, and here it is occupied by the property. In the first case this position is taken by *tumbo*, the now swollen abdomen which is the focus of the disobedience of mother and daughter which precipitates the action of the novel; in the second case, the 'hands and feet' by which Masika is tied emphasise the enormity of the action against her in forcing her into an unwanted marriage.

This may of course be reading too much into two solitary instances. Note too that there is a general tendency to position complex arguments furthest from the verb (Ashton 1944:301), which might explain example (35) here, as well as the remaining two examples A593-4 (the latter also quoted in footnote [1] on pages 120f) which have complex noun phrases expressing the properties: *macho yao* 'their eyes' and *pesa katika mshahara wake* 'money from his salary'.

A passive variation of the transitive affective construction is attested in only four examples. In two of the examples the agentive connector *na-* occurs and in the other two it does not occur. The examples are cited below:

(36a) alikatwa maneno na Kumba <d53.1>
1-pst-cut-pass 6-words by Kumba
His words were cut off by Kumba.

(36b) nyoka anapozibwa pumzi na chura <d114.2>
9/1-snake 1-pres-rel16-block-pass 9-breath by 9/1-frog
When the snake's breath was blocked by the frog.

(37a) na huku ameshikwa mkono <ny76.2>
& there 1-perf-hold-pass 3-hand
(She would follow) led by the hand.

(37b) Hakua mtu wa kuvunjwa moyo <u3.1>
neg-inf-be 1-person 1-of inf-break-pass 3-heart
He was not one to be discouraged (to be heart broken)

As seen in the above examples in (36a/b) the patient assumes subject position, the property assumes the object position and the agent is marked by the connector *na*. In (37a/b) on the other hand the agent is not present, therefore the agentive connector does not occur.

Two examples using the reciprocal suffix are a natural extension of the active transitive construction in which the mutual agent and patient are combined in the subject.

- (38) Walisameheana kimoyomoyo <u128.7>
 2-pst-forgive-rc adjn-3-heart
 they forgave each other in their heart.
- (39) Tumekamatana mikono <d100.7>
 2-perf-grasp-rc 4-hands
 We have grasped each other's hands.

In examples (40 & 41) below, *-unga mkono* and *-acha mkono* are phrasal or collocations. It is not immediately clear to whom the property belongs, whether the patient or agent. In fact we are inclined to believe that in *-unga mkono*, logically, the property is equally associated with both agent and patient since in joining hands with another involves the hand of the agent and that of the patient joining together. On the contrary, in *-acha mkono* letting go of another's hand involves the separation of the two hands that were joined together and thus in the construction we refer only to the hand that has been let go of, and that is the patient's, we are therefore inclined to associate the property in *-acha mkono* with the patient rather than the agent or both.

- (40) Dora alipojitolea kumuunga mkono <u85.2>
 Dora 1-pst-rel16-refl-come_out-appl inf-obj1-join 3-hand
 When Dora offered to join hands with him.
- (41) leo dunia imeshamwacha mkono <u147.2>
 today 9-world 9-perf-obj1-leave 3-hand
 Today the world has let go of her hand (ie she has passed away).

There is one example, (42) in which two oblique objects are involved. The first represents instrument and the second property. The order of the two oblique objects respectively *visi* 'kisses' and *uso mzima* 'whole face', which we would expect to be the other way round is probably reversed because one of them is simple *visi* and the other complex *uso mzima*.

- (42) [akamzungushia mikono] na kumrovya visi
 [1-sb-sc-obj1-surround-appl 4-hands] & inf-obj1-wet-cs 8-kisses
uso mzima <ny128.7>
 11-face 11-whole
 [He put his arms around her] and wet her whole face with kisses.

Although typically a possessive is not usually used simultaneously with the affective pronoun, there are 3 examples in which both possessive and the affective pronoun are used.

- (43) walinivunja kichwa changu kwa nyundo <d2.8>
 3pl-obj1sg-break 7-head 7-poss1ps with 9-hammer
 They broke my head with a hammer. (Mzee Jaku is speaking)
- (44) ili kuwafunika watu macho yao <ny8.2>
 in_order inf-obj2-open 2-people 6-eyes 6-poss2
 In order to close the eyes of people.
- (45) 'Ala, umeshamtoka ujinga wake' <d78.4>
 'Well, 2ps-perf-already-obj1-come_out 11-folly 11-poss1
 'Well, well, you have already got him out of his foolishness'

Example (43) perhaps evokes sympathy for the speaker; (44) is unique in having a non-specific plural patient; little can be said about (45), except that both verb and property are marginal in this construction.

Perhaps the possessives are used here to re-emphasise the properties.

4.2.2 Constructions with inanimate theme as subject

The typical transitive affective construction has been one in which the subject or agent is animate as seen in all the variants of the construction discussed above.

The present variant of the construction is distinct in that the arguments in subject position are inanimate and are therefore labelled as themes.

On the other hand, the themes can be described as functioning as or representing the agent, they are personified inanimate entities or activities acting as agents.

Examples are:

- (46) Hilo lilimharibu akili yule kijana <u152.6>
 dem5 5-pst-destroy 9-brain 1-dem 7/1-youth
 That [Maimuna's greetings] destroyed that youth's mind.

The activity in (46) has Maimuna, a young girl, as its implied agent, the activity here is a greeting addressed by Maimuna to Kabi.

- (47) [kicheko cha James] kilichozidi kumtuturisha
 [James's laughter] 7-pst-rel7-increase inf-obj1-beat
moyo Maimuna <56.5>
 3-heart Maimuna
 James's laughter made her heart beat even faster.

The activity in (47) is the laughter of James, a customer of the brothel to which Maimuna was introduced.

- (48) zile kofi chache zilizopigwa
 10-those 10-claps 10-few 10-pst-rel10-beat-pass
 zilimvunja moyo <u79.4>
 10-pst-obj1-break 3-heart
 The few claps broke his heart

The activity in (48) is the weak applause given by the audience at a campaign rally to Bwana Maksuudi who was an electoral candidate.

- (49) [mizigo] Hata kama itamvunja mgongo <d73.5>
 [4-load] even if 4-fut-obj1-break 3-back
 Even if they will break her back.

In (49) the activity is here *mizigo* 'burdens' represent Bipole's sons Fumu and Pandu who had become unbearable burdens for her because they were not working.

The last example (50) is interesting because here *shepeo* 'hat' in subject position constitutes a surrogate agent. Kabi is the patient and source. Interestingly enough, though *shepeo* can be regarded as an intimate possession of Kabi, the real property is *uso* 'face'.

- (50) shepeo la Kabi lenye kingo lilimziba uso <153.4>
 5-hat 5-of Kabi 5-having 9-shade 5-pst-obj1-block 11-face
 Kabi's broad rimmed hat blocked his face.

These constructions are parallel to those considered in 3.4.6 where a property replaces the human agent.

4.3 Related constructions

There are related constructions in which the patient is represented by a possessive qualifying the property (51), constructions in which the property is associated with the agent rather than the patient (52 & 54), and constructions in which the property is locative in form (53 & 54). These are discussed in further detail in the following subsections (4.3.1–4.3.5)

- (51) Rehema aliishika mikono migumu ya Sulubu <ny95.2>
 Rehema 1-pst-obj4-hold 4-hands 4-hard 4-of Sulubu
 Rehema held Sulubu's rough hands.
- (52) [Mwanatenga] akimtikisia kichwa <s104.5>
 [Mwanatenga] 1-cncm-obj1-shake-appl 7-head
 He shook his head at him.
- (53) [huku anamtupia jicho la siri] kumtazama usoni <s20.6>
 [as 1-pres-obj1-cast-appl 5-eye 5-of 9-secret] inf-obj1-look 11-face-loc
 As she stole a glance at her face.
- (54) akamchukua na kumkumbatia mikononi <ny132.2>
 1-sbsc-obj1-take & inf-obj1-embrace 4-hands-loc
 she took her and embraced her in her arms.

4.3.1 Constructions with patient as possessive qualifier of property

Contextually this construction involves agent, a patient and a property, but the patient is marked not on the verb but by a possessive qualifier to the property.

Unlike all the canonical transitive affective constructions which are three-argument constructions this is a two-argument construction since the patient does not constitute an argument but a qualifier.

The following examples illustrate the construction:

- (55) Rehema aliishika mikono migumu ya Sulubu
 Rehema 1-pst-obj4-hold 4-hands 4-hard 4-of Sulubu
 akamwambia alilojia huku
 1-sbse-obj1-tell 1-pst-rel5-come-appl while
 akiitikisa mikono yake kumwamsha
 1-cncm-obj4-shake 4-hand 4-poss1 inf-obj1-wake
 katika bumbwazi <ny95.2>
 prep astonishment
 Rehema held Sulubu's rough hands and told him what she had come
 for as she shook his hand to awaken him from perplexity.
- (56) Rehema alizidi kusogea chini ya
 Rehema 1-pst-increase inf-draw_near under of
 Sulubu na kulishika bega lake <ny109.5>
 Sulubu & inf-obj5-hold 5-shoulder 5-poss1
 Rehema proceeded to draw close to Sulubu and hold his shoulder.
- (57) Karim alisogea na kuushika
 Karim 1-pst-draw_near & inf-obj3-hold
mkono wa Salma <ny164.5>
 3-hand of Salma
 Karim drew near and held Salma's hand.

In all three cases the participants are well established, and the focus is on their particular actions. In (55) Rehema has renewed an old acquaintance with Sulubu, and seizing the initiative has resolved to settle down with him; arriving in a quiet spot, Rehema seeks to ease him through his stunned reaction.

In (56), Rehema and Sulubu are reacting to the barking of Sulubu's dog in the night; Rehema has gone outside with the torch and comes up behind him, grasping his shoulder for security.

In (57), Salma has reacted hysterically towards her spendthrift and violent husband Karim, who is now seeking to soft-talk her with a scheme to repossess the land occupied by her half-sister, showing uncharacteristic tenderness towards her.

Lack of a separate argument to represent the patient necessarily focuses attention on the property. It is noteworthy that in each example the property is anticipated by an object marker in the verb, although it has to be said that heavy use of the object marker for non-personal referents is characteristic of this author.

4.3.2 Constructions involving implicit patient

There is a related construction in which the patient is neither expressed by the affective pronoun nor a possessive. There are only three examples noted:

(58) Akaifuata hiyo damu kutoka mdomoni <d65.2>
 1-sbsc-obj9-follow dem9 9-blood from 3-lip-loc
 He traced the blood from her mouth [with his handkerchief].

(59) akiushika mkono uliojaa malaika kuubusu <ny83.4>
 1-cncm-obj3-hold 3-hand 3-pst-rel3-fill 6-hairs inf-obj3-kiss
 She took his hairy hand to kiss it.

It does not seem that there is any emotional reason for the lack of explicit reference to patient here, as the two cases are contrasted: in (58) Pandu has a very close relationship with his foster mother and patient Bi Staghafiru, while in (59) Rehema has been estranged for years from her father. Rather in both cases, foreground and background characters are well established in the context and there is no need to confirm the reference.

In contrast to (58) and (59) the third example (60) has an unidentified patient/cognisand:

(60) Rehema aliikumbukia sura ile <ny134.4>
 Rehema 1-pst-9-remember-appl 9-face 9-that
 Rehema remembered that face.

In section 4.3.1 the patient is indicated by the possessive qualifying the property. In this construction this the patient is omitted altogether mainly because the patient has already been established in the context so that the reader knowing what has preceded before the clause would identify the possessor of the property as the patient and not the agent. Without more context example (58) would be ambiguous and it would be difficult to tell if a patient is involved at all or if the property was associated with the agent as in the constructions in chapter 5.

4.3.3 Property associated with agent

In 4.1.2 we compared the transitive affective constructions with other ditransitive constructions including the applicative construction. This construction is a special case of ditransitive construction where the theme happens to be a property which is associated not with the patient but the agent.

- (61) Kabi aliyekuwa pia kamtulizia jicho <u155.6>
 Kabi 1-pst-rel1-be also perf-obj1-settle-appl 5-eye
 Kabi who had also settled his eyes on her.
- (62) [Rozi sasa alisogea...] alilokalia na
 [Rozi now 1-pst-draw_near] 1-pst-rel5-sit-appl &
 kumkodolea mumewe macho yote [Mansuri] <ny48.5>
 inf-obj1-stare her_husband 6-eyes 6-all [Mansuri]
 Rozi now moved close where he was sitting and stared at her husband with
 all her eyes.
- (63) akamzungushia mikono <ny128.7>
 1-sbsc-obj1-surround-appl 4-hands
 He put his arms around her.

The constructions usually involve the agent making a gesture (involving a body part) at the patient as in the examples above. About 50% of the collocations that occur here refer to glancing at or staring at, as in *tupia jicho* 'cast a glance at', *tulizia jicho* 'rest eyes upon' and *kodolea macho* 'stare at'.

The construction is perhaps more related to the auto-referential construction in chapter 5. The difference is that here a second argument (patient) is involved, hence their treatment in this chapter. The verbs used here may also be used without applicative extension in auto-referential constructions. Compare the following pairs of examples of the two constructions noting the difference.

- (64a) [Mwanatenga] akimtikisia kichwa <s104.5>
 [Mwanatenga] 1-cncm-obj1-shake-appl 7-head
 She shook her head at him.
- (64b) Alitikisa kichwa <d57.8>
 1-pst-shake 7-head
 He shook his head

- (65a) [Maksuudi] alimtupia tena jicho Mussa <u127.7>
 [Maksuudi] 1-pst-obj1-throw-appl again 5-eye Mussa
 He glanced at Mussa again.
- (65b) alitupa macho <d48.8>
 1-pst-throw 6-eyes
 He cast a glance (lit. threw eye).
- (66a) akitabasamu na kupungia watu mikono <ny70.1>
 1-cncm-smile & inf-wave-appl 2-people 4-hands
 He smiled and waved his hands at the people.
- (66b) Alikata roho huku akipunga mikono <u175.2>
 1-pst-cut 9-soul while 1-cncm-wave 4-hands
 He died waving his hands. (Lit. he cut soul)

There are some examples in which the verb involved is not applicative as in (67), which has a regular ditransitive verb:

- (67) Alimpa tena mgongo Kabi <u156.5>
 1-pst-obj1-give again 3-back Kabi
 She turned her back again on Kabi (lit. she gave him her back).

The rest of examples without the applicative extension have the property in oblique case.

- (68) Akamficha mgongoni pake <u52.5>
 1-sbsc-obj1-hide 3-back-loc 16-poss1
 She (Biti Kocho) hid her (Bi Tamima) at her back.
- (69) Aliwavuta akilini <u104.1>
 1-pst-obj2-pull 9-mind-loc
 He recalled (pulled) them in his mind
- (70) [kijukuu] alipokishika mikononi <ny19.4>
 [7-grandchild] 1-pst-rel16-obj7-hold 4-hands-loc
 When she held her grandchild in her arms.
- (71) Baba yake alimtia jichoni
 9/1-father 9-1 1-pst-obj1-put 5-eye-loc
 kwa nadra tu <ny22.2>
 with scarce only
 She scarcely saw her father (lit. her father put her in his eyes only rarely).

- (72) 'Hebu nipe mchi usije
 hey_there obj1ps-give-imp 3-pestle 2ps-neg-come-sjc
 ukaniharibia hicho kilembwe changu
 2ps-sbosc-obj1ps-destroy-appl dem7 7-grandchild 7-poss1
 humo tumboni <u171.4>
 there 5-stomach-loc
 'Give me the pestle and don't destroy my great grandchild there in your
 womb' (Farashuu offering to take over food preparation from
 Maimuna).

The last example is an interesting one in which the object is animate and its relation to the speaker is asserted by beneficiary *-ni-* (object prefix) with the applicative extension reinforced by the possessive *changu* 'my'. At the same time *humo tumboni* 'there in the womb' belongs to the hearer/agent.

4.3.4 'Words' belonging to speaker and hearer

In this section we discuss constructions which involve words of speaker to hearer. They occur in various syntactic structures. Strictly these constructions relate to other constructions in chapter 3 but are relevant here because they involve two referents, that is the property involved, *maneno* 'words' is associated both to speaker and hearer.

Examples are:

- (73) Maneno ya Biti Kocho yamemfika <u28.1>
 6-words 6-of Biti Kocho 6-perf-obj1-reach
 The words of Biti Kocho got to her.
- (74) aliuma meno na kusikiliza uchungu
 1-pst-hurt 6-teeth & inf-listen 11-bitterness
 wa maneno ya Fumu ukimpanda
 of 6-words of Fumu 1-cncm-obj1-climb
 na kumteremka upesi_upesi <d8.2>
 & inf-obj1-descend quickly_quickly
 He gritted his teeth and felt the bitterness of Fumu's words
 churning up and down very quickly within him.

- (75) Maneno yale yalimparamia, yakampenya
 6-words 6-those 6-pst-obj1-buffet 6-sbsc-obj1-penetrate
masikioni, yakamkereketa moyoni <d21.6>
 6-ears-loc 6-sbsc-obj1-upset 3-heart-loc
 The words buffeted him, penetrated his ears and upset his heart.
- (76) Ilikuwa kama maneno ya Kazija yalimfuma
 9-pst-be that 6-words of Kazija 6-pst-obj1-enter
kifuani na kumpenya moyoni <d20.6>
 7-chest-loc & inf-obj1-penetrate 3-heart-loc
 It was as if Kazija's words pierced his chest and entered into his heart.
- (77) Yale maneno ya Kabi yalikuwa yakichimba
 6-those 6-words 6-of Kabi 6-pst-be 6-cncm-dig
machizi kwenye chemchem yake <u161.6>
 6-tears from 6-spring 6-poss1
 The words of Kabi were bringing (digging) [Maimuna's] tears from their spring.
- (78) sasa aliyasikia maneno ya Farouk
 now 1-pst-6-hear 6-words of Farouk
 waziwazi masikioni mwake <d84.4>
 clearly 6-ears-loc 18-poss1
 Now she heard Farouk's words clearly in her ears.

What is common with all these examples is that they express the effect of an agent's words on the hearer. The dilemma here is that there is dual ownership where the property is concerned. It can be argued that in all the examples though the words originally belong to the speaker, they are now seated deep in the patient's mind and therefore ownership has been transferred from speaker to hearer and have become an inherent property of the hearer hence the use of the affective pronoun for the patient in all the examples except (77) and (78) which are possessive constructions.

In the light of this argument, examples (73) and (74) and the first clause of (75) can be said to relate to the canonical intransitive affective construction in chapter 3, section 3.1.1.1 with the structure [pr _-pt], the second and third clauses of (75) and (76) relate to the locative constructions involving two properties in section 3.4.6.

4.3.5 Constructions involving locative properties

These are transitive affective constructions in which the property occurs with a locative affix. Here the property can best be labelled as a locative object; the direct object appears still to encode a patient.

There are altogether 7 examples of this locative transitive affective construction attested in our data.

- (79) [Nzi] mmoja **alimtua** usoni <d49.16>
 1-fly 1-one 1-pst-obj1-settle 11-face-loc
 A fly landed on his face.
- (80) Mwilini **kamrembaremba** kanda <u59.2>
 3-body-loc [1]-perf-obj1-scar 9-belt
 He scarred her body with a belt.
- (81) huku anamtupia jicho la siri
 while 1-pres-obj1-throw 5-eye 5-of 9-secret
 inf-obj1-look 11-face-loc
kumtazama usoni <s20.6>
 throwing him a secret glance and looking at his face.
- (82) Alipohisi mkono **ukimtambalia** mgongoni <u59.2>
 1-pst-rel16-feel 3-hand 3-cncm-obj1-creeping-appl 3-back-loc
 She felt a hand tapping her on the back.
- (83) [alikata roho huku akipunga mikono kama]
 [1-pst-cut 9-soul while 1-cncm-wave 4-hands like]
 we daima **ulimsimamia** usoni <u175.2>
 you forever 2ps-pst-obj1-stand-appl 11-face-loc
 He died waving his hands as if you always stood before him.
- (84) ila ni Shetani **kanisimamia** usoni <u172.4>
 except cop Satan sb-sc-obj1-stand_before 11-face-loc
 Except that Satan prevented me.
- (85) tena [Maksuudi] **alimwangalia** Mussa machoni mwake <175.3>
 again [Maksuudi] 1-pst-obj1-look Mussa 6-eyes-loc 18-poss1
 Again he [Maksuudi] looked Mussa in the eye.

Although the last four examples (82)–(85) appear to have applicative endings in the verb, we believe they should still be regarded as affective. *-Angalia* ‘look at’ is now lexicalised and not predictable in meaning from *-angua*. In example

(83) and (84) *-simamia usoni* is a fixed expression, in which the applicative ending is probably triggered by the following locative (in any case the 'face' here belongs to patient, not agent). *-Tambalia* in (82) however appears to be the applicative form of *-tambaa* 'meander', perhaps triggered by the locative argument. We think these cases are distinct from those discussed in 4.3.3 (examples 61-63) in which the property is associated with the agent.

In example (79)-(81), *-rembaremba* 'scar', *-tua* 'settle' and *-tazama* 'look' are simple transitive verbs but they are here used ditransitively. Note the locative property is also shifted to sentence initial position in (80).

The final example (86) involves three properties, one as an oblique object and the other two as adjuncts. The affective patient argument expressed by the object concord serves to reference the possessor of all three properties.

- (86) *alimfuta* *damu* *mdomoni* *na* *kifuani* <d65.2>
 1-pst-obj1-wipe 9-blood 3-mouth-loc & 7-chest-loc
 He wiped the blood from her mouth and chest.

CHAPTER 5: AUTO-REFERENTIAL AFFECTIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

5.1 Introduction

The two affective constructions considered in chapter 3 and 4 involve (explicitly or implicitly) a patient [affected person] and an associated property. In this chapter we consider constructions similarly involving a person and a property in which the person is more actively involved, as in examples (1 & 2) below:

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------|--------------|---------|
| (1) | aliinua | <u>mkono</u> | <d92.1> |
| | 1-pst-raise | 3-arm | |
| | He raised his arm | | |
| | (literally, he raised the arm) | | |
| (2) | akameza | <u>mate</u> | <d54.3> |
| | 1-sb-sc-swallow | 6-saliva | |
| | He swallowed saliva. | | |

In raising one's hand and swallowing saliva, a person can be said to be actively involved with the process (although at times the process may be involuntary).

We have conventionally, treated the first argument (i.e. the subject) of such constructions as ‘agent’, although it could be said in view of the close association of person and property that the argument is simultaneously agent and patient. We recall also the observations in Maw (1992:137-8) that with many verbs relating to operations on the body, the verb specifies the recipient of the operation, who may or may not also be the agent as in examples (3 & 4) below:

- (3) wasonga kwa nani? (Maw 1992:ex 14)
'you get your hair plaited at whose place?
- (4) mimi ndevu nanyoa mwenyewe lakini nywele, kitwa nanyoa
kwa kinyozi (Maw 1992:ex 18)
I shave my own beard off but when I want my hair shaped I have it done
at the barber's

In (3) although 'hair' is not expressed in the construction it is pragmatically assumed from the verb *-nyoa* 'shave/cut (hair)' and since people usually have it done at the barber's rather than doing it themselves, the use of the active voice is interpreted as a stative. In the first clause of (4), the property is explicit and the use of *mwenyewe* '(by) myself' specifies that the action is performed by the subject to himself and in the second one *kwa kinyozi* 'at the barber's' indicates that the action is being done to the subject but not by the subject.

The construction is formally similar to [pt _ pr], the 'active' inverse variant of the intransitive affective construction (3.4.2), but we have distinguished it on the basis of the greater 'voluntariness' of the person (whether as agent or instigator of the action), and the judgement that the verb is regarded as transitive, and characterised it [ag _ pr].

We have referred to the construction as auto-referential for two reasons; first the property in question is regarded as being co-referential with the agent and secondly the agent is also the patient/recipient of the action of the verb, in other words it involves self or auto-'referentiality' between agent, patient and property.

Maw (1992:140) claims that 'parts of the body are never referred to with possessives'. This claim is frequently falsified in our data as seen in the following examples:

- | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------|---------------|----------|----------|
| (5) | aliinua | <u>uso</u> | wake | <d55.14> |
| | 1-pst-raise | 11-face | 11-poss1 | |
| | He raised his face. | | | |
| | | | | |
| (6) | akatanua | <u>mikono</u> | yake | <u56.4> |
| | 1-sb-sc-stretch_apart | 4-arms | 4-poss1 | |
| | He stretched out his hands. | | | |

We discuss the relationship of the construction with possessive to the construction without overt possessive in 5.2.

However, as discussed in 2.2, discussions on many languages of the world have noted the use of special constructions where inalienable possessions are concerned. A recurrent feature of this has been the exclusion of an overt possessive marker where kinship nouns are concerned. Another feature of this

- (12) Tous prêtèrent l'oreille (Verne, 1979:91)
 All lent their ears
 (possessor deletion)

In French, however, possessive deletion in such cases is not obligatory since they sometimes occur with possessives.

- (13) Prenez mon bras, je vous prie (Verne, 1979:46)
 Take my hand I pray
 (2 actors, possessive distinguishes)
- (14) S. F., après avoir hermétiquement serré ses lèvres, aspira fortement
 du nez (Verne, 1979:74)
 After hermetically sealing his lips, S. F breathed strongly through the
 nose [to sense presence of marsh gas]
 (explicit possessive with 'lips' in marked context, no possessive with
 'nose')

The possessive is deleted in (10)–(12) and necessary in (13). In (14) it is explicit in the first clause of the sentence but deleted in the second clause.

Swahili similarly displays both deletion and retention of possessives, but as we observe later in 5.2.2, it is predictable to some degree what properties are more or less likely to occur with possessor deletion.

Section 5.2 considers variants of the constructions. In addition to forms with and without the possessive that we have already seen in (3)–(4) and in (1)–(2), there is also a variant in which the property is front-shifted to sentence-initial position.

Examples are:

- (15) uso kaukunya <s85.4>
 11-face [1]-perf-obj11-fold
 He had frowned his face
- (16) meno kauma <u143.4>
 6-teeth [1]-perf-hurt
 He clenched his teeth.

Subsections 5.2.1 and 5.2.2 consider the semantic range of the construction and contextual features that may condition choice of variant.

In section 5.3 we take a closer look at relations between the auto-referential construction and the affective constructions considered in chapters 3 and 4.

5.2. Variants of the construction

The first variant of the construction has the structure [ag _ pr]. The agent / affected person in subject position is followed by the verb then the property involved as in the following.

- | | | | | |
|------|-------------------------------|----------------|---------------|---------|
| (17) | akameza | <u>mate</u> | | <d54.3> |
| | 1-sbsc-swallow | 6-saliva | | |
| | He swallowed saliva. | | | |
| (18) | Shomari | kakamata | <u>kichwa</u> | <d54.1> |
| | Shomari | [1]-perf-grasp | 7-head | |
| | Shomari was holding his head. | | | |
| (19) | alitikisa | <u>kichwa</u> | | <d57.8> |
| | 1-pst-shake | 7-head | | |
| | He shook his head | | | |

In the examples above there is no explicit grammatical item or possessive marker indicating the agent's ownership of the property involved. The phenomenon that occurs here can perhaps be compared to Hyman's (1977:99-100) possessor deletion rule where the possessor of a transitive construction is deleted when its object is a body part belonging to the possessor.¹ This variant is used by far much more frequently than the other variants. There are about 169 examples attested. The possessive relation is assumed by both speaker and hearer.

In the second variant of the construction, the elements of structure are the same except that the property is fronted to sentence initial position. The examples below are given with brief comments, as in the following:

¹ Hyman describes possessor deletion as a phenomenon that occurs not only in Haya but other languages such as French and Igbo. This deletion is said to occur upon the possessor's identity with the subject as in his example (1); Il a **levé** le bras 'he raised his arm' (*literally*, 'he raised the arm').

- (20) ["sijui" Wasiwasi alikuwa] uso **kaukunja** <s85.4>
 [1-neg-know Wasiwasi 1-pst-be] 11-face [1]-perf-obj11-squeeze
 "I do not know" Wasiwasi had frowned.

Context: Wasiwasi is being dared to deny accusations against him but cannot think of any grounds to discredit his accuser.

Form: the property is apparently here fronted between the auxiliary and the main verb of what has been taken as a compound, but seems better here to be taken as a copula followed by a situational clause.

- (21) ["e-enh?" aliruka Bwana Msa, Najum alikazana
 [!1-pst-jump Bwana Msa, Najum 1-pst-hold_together
 juu ya kiti chake] macho **kayatoa** <s30.1>
 top of 7-chair 7-poss1] 6-eyes [1]-perf-obj6-come out
 ["e-enh?" erupted Bwana Msa, Najum sat tightly on his chair], his eyes popping out.

Context: Bwana Msa and Najum are listening to Mwanatenga's narration about how her father (who was actually her foster parent) had asked her to marry him; the text expresses their astonishment

Form: The reactions of both listeners are expressed by active clauses, accompanied in the latter case by an auto-referential clause focusing Najum's eyes.

- (22) [uchungu na hamaki ulichanganyika na mastaajabu.
 [11-bitterness & 9-anger 11-pst-mix with 6-astonishment
 Jicho pima lilimtoka.
 5-eye defiant 5-pst-obj1-come_out
 Nywele zilikuwa timtim.] Meno **kauma** <u143.4>
 10-hair 10-pst-be ruffle] 6-teeth [1]-perf-hurt
 Bitterness and anger were mixed with astonishment. Her defiant eyes bulged. Her hair was ruffled. She clenched her teeth.

Context: Runaway Maimuna has been traced and seized by her father and brother and is trying violently to free herself from their grasp as she screams "*niacheeneeni*" 'leave me'

Form: the clause of interest is preceded by a number of descriptive clauses, including one intransitive affective clause and one similar clause in which the patient is implicit, in all of which the property

comes first, and so for the auto-referential construction too the property is fronted for focus and uniformity of surface structure.

- (23) Mussa hakujijua, alijiona yuko mvunguni.
 Mussa 1-neg-refl-know 1-pst-refl-see 1-be_there under a bed-loc
 Moyo ulimwenda mbio. Pumzi kifua tele.
 3-heart 3-pst-obj1-go fast 9-breath 7-chest full
 Damu ilimkauka. Macho **kayatoa**.
 9-blood 9-pst-obj1-dry 6-eyes [1]-perf-obj6-come out
 Alitetemeka.
 1-pst-tremble <u9.19>
 Mussa did not know how, he realised he was under the bed. His heart beat fast. His breath filled his chest. His blood dried up. His eyes stood out. He trembled.

Context: Mussa had been pushed under a bed by Kazija his girlfriend on hearing the arrival of Maksuudi Mussa's father whom she was also dating. Mussa who was very much in awe of his father was very scared amidst the confusion.

Form: As in example (22), the auto-referential clause come in a sequence of clauses commencing with a property (of which two are intransitive affective).

- (24) Moyo unamtuta, macho **kayatoa**, anahema<u56.4>
 3-heart 3-pres-obj1-thump 6-eyes [1]-obj6-protrude 1-pres-pant
 Her heart pumps, her eyes stood out, she pants.

Context: James had paid to have sex with Maimuna and she is unwilling to go through with it, this being her first of introduction to prostitution, and James gets angry and attempts to attack and force her.

Form: The auto-referential phrase comes in the middle of a sequence of three short clauses, the first intransitive affective, the second auto-referential and the third "corporal" (expressing bodily action)

There are 12 examples of these variants attested. In all but one case, the Zanzibarian *ka*- perfect tense is used. There are however other cases in which the *ka* perfect is used with property following as in *Maksuudi kasita miguu* 'Maksuudi hesitated (lit he hesitated his leg)', or with the passive extended verb as in *Shomari alikuwa kafumwa na wazo* 'Shomari was seized by

distasteful thoughts'. This particular perfect tense marker is without an explicit subject prefix in the verbal complex. Even so in the one case in which the *ka*-perfect is not used, the tense used is the narrative *-ka-* with a subject concord in the verbal complex (25).

- (25) halafu moyo akaufunga kwa fundo badala ya tanzi<ny7.2>
 later 3-heart 1-sbsc-obj3-close with 9-knot instead of 9-slipknot
 There after she tied her heart with a knot instead of a slipknot.

The third variant is one in which the property involved occurs with a possessive qualifier [ag _ pr*].

- (26) Alivua suruali yake <d50.13>
 1-pst-take_off 9-trousers 9-poss1
 He took off his trousers.
- (27) aliinua uso wake <d55.14>
 1-pst-raise 11-face 11-poss1
 He raised his face.
- (28) akatanua mikono yake <u56.4>
 1-sbsc-stretch_apart 4-arms 4-poss1
 He stretched out his hands.

Here the presence of the possessive qualifier explicitly expresses the possessive relationship between the subject and object. The examples of this variant are few in comparison to the first variant. They are about 46 in number, just a little more than half the number of the first variant.

There are also two other variants of the construction in which the property occurs in oblique object position with or without possessive as in the following:

- (29) akaunyweshwa [mto] machizi <u63.7>
 1-sbsc-wet [3-pillow] 6-tears
 And wet it (pillow) with her tears.

- (30) Maimuna alipiga mkono pajani pake <u141.3>
 Maimuna 1-pst-beat 3-hand 5-thigh-loc 16-poss1
 Maimuna put her hand on her thigh.

We consider first constructions without possessive in their oblique object (which is instrumental in (29) and (31), locative elsewhere). Their direct object may be animate as in (31), (34) and (35) or inanimate as in (32), (33) and (36) below. In (34) and (35) the direct object refers to babies, and the verbs are caring verbs. In examples (35) and (36), the direct objects are marked by the possessive; this is almost the only difference between (33) and (36).

- (31) alitafuta wa kumshukuru kwa macho <u128.7>
 1-pst-seek 1-person inf-obj1-thank with 6-eyes
 He sought someone to thank with his eyes.
- (32) wakikamata virungu mkononi <d111.5>
 2-cncm-grasp 8-truncheons 3-hand-loc
 They were holding truncheons in their hands.
- (33) Sulubu alitupia jembe begani <ny113.14>
 Sulubu 1-pst-throw-appl 5-hoe 5-shoulder-loc
 Sulubu swung the hoe over his shoulder.
- (34) Alikiweka begani kitoto chake <ny15.2>
 1-pst-obj7 5-shoulder-loc 7-little_child 7-poss1
 She put her child on her shoulder.
- (35) Aziza alimchukua mtoto wake mikononi <ny17.2>
 Aziza 1-pst-obj1-take 1-child 1-poss1 4-arms-loc
 Aziza took the child in her arms.
- (36) alitupia jembe lake begani <ny154.3>
 1-pst-throw-appl 5-hoe 5-poss1 5-shoulder-loc
 He threw his hoe over his shoulder.

In five of the remaining cases with possessive, the property involved is *rohoni* or *moyoni* 'in the mind/heart', and the processes involved are mental, cf. examples (37)–(39).

- (37) fik'ra hiyo ondoshia rohoni mwako <s30.4>
 9-thought 9-this remove-imp 9-soul-loc 18-poss2ps
 Remove this thought from your mind.
- (38) Salma alijibu rohoni mwake <ny125.3>
 Salma 1-pst-answer 9-soul-loc 18-poss1
 Salma answered in her heart.
- (39) moyoni mwake akimuwaza baba yake
 3-heart-loc 18-poss1 1-cncm-obj1-think 1/9-father 9-poss1
 Bwana Fuad <ny114.2>
 Bwana Fuad
 In her heart she thought about her father Bwana Fuad.

The remaining five examples involve two properties as in (30) above, and compare A945, A951, A953. One example (40) is very complex, and has 3 possessives scattered in a succession of 7 properties as if to confirm at intervals the link to the foreground participant.

- (40) Halafu aliinua hiyo miguu kidogo, akaweka mikono yake magotini na
 kuinama chini kuubenua mgongo wake kwa kupitisha kichwa na kifua
 katikati ya magoti yake <u134.1>
 Later she lifted her legs a little, she put her hands on her knees and bent
 down to stretch her back by putting her head and chest between her
 knees.

This issue of the use of the possessive in auto-referential constructions will be discussed further in the next two sections.

5.2.1 The predicate

The verbs employed in this construction are transitive verbs of action. They normally take single objects here and elsewhere in the grammar (though some are also used in the transitive affective construction where they take two objects, see 4.2, examples (25) and (28). Some of the verbs involved refer inherently to the body, or intimate property eg. *fumba* 'close' (*macho* 'eyes', *mdomo* 'mouth'), *kanyagia* 'raise', *kodoa* 'stare' (*macho* 'eyes'), *nawa* 'wash' (*mikono* 'hands'), *kuvaa* 'wear' (*nguo* 'clothes'), others refer only incidentally to the body, eg *angusha* 'lower' (*sauti* 'voice', *uso* 'face'), *geuza* 'turn'

(uso 'face'), *inua* 'raise' (mkono 'hands', uso 'face'), *nyosha* 'stretch' (mikono 'hands', miguu 'legs'), *shusha* 'lower' (pumzi 'breath'), and so it is from the verb that they derive the co-referentiality of object (property) and subject.

The notion of co-reference in Swahili can be expressed in several ways (cf 5.1). The term itself has been described as 'a term used in grammatical description to refer to a verb or construction where the subject and object relate to the same entity' (Crystal 1994). We have extended the definition of co-reference to include the case where the object is an intimate property belonging inalienably to the subject, including cases where ownership is reinforced by possessive or reflexive pronouns.

In Swahili co-reference is generally indicated by the reflexive affix *-ji* or by a possessive pronoun. However with the possessive it is a matter of interpretation which participant is referenced:

- (41) akajificha macho na kujibena mgongo <d2.1>
 1-sbsc-refl-hide 6-eyes & inf-refl-crush 3-back
 He hid his eyes and hunched his back.
- (42) aliuza nguo zake <*>
 1-pst-sell 10-clothes 10-poss1
 she sold her clothes.

The first example (41) represents a reflexive construction, the reflexive affix *-ji* indicates that macho 'eyes' and mgongo 'back' are co-referential with the subject.

The second example (42) is ambiguous as it is without enough context, if the clothes she sold happened to be hers then the possessive indicates co-reference with the subject but on the other hand if it happened to be say her mother's then it does not indicate co-reference with the subject.

Verbs used with the reflexive affix are usually not inherently co-referential but take on the co-referential quality by virtue of the reflexive morpheme. There are however some verbs in the language that are inherently self-referencing.

- (43) nilioga jana <*>
 1-pst-bathe 9-yesterday
 I bathed yesterday.

In the examples (41) and (42) the co-referential meaning is signalled by the reflexive morpheme and the possessive pronoun respectively, without these the constructions cannot be described as co-referential. In the example (43) it is the verb itself that is inherently co-referential, in that one is usually expected to perform the act of bathing by and to one's self. Inherently co-referential verbs are usually intransitive.

The verbs employed in the auto-referential constructions may not be described as inherently co-referential in the strictest sense of the word but involve actions that would normally be carried out by a person on himself. Examples are:

- (44) alikuwa kakamata kichwa <d108.4>
 1-pst-cop [1]-perf-grasp 7-head
 The [Commissioner] was holding his head.
- (45) Alipangusa machozi <ny19.2>
 1-pst-wipe 6-tears
 She wiped her tears.

Some of the verbs here also occur in transitive affective construction in which case the action which would normally be carried out by the self is carried out by another as a result of the patient being incapacitated in some way or for other reasons.

The inference of co-reference here is dependent on the predicate as a whole and not only the verb. In other words in most of the constructions the auto-referential notion is inferred from the predicate. For example in the following illustrations, auto-reference is determined by the object which is the property.

- (46) alikunja uso <d84.3>
 1-pst-squeeze 11-face
 He frowned his face.

- | | | | | |
|------|---------------------------|--------------|--------------|----------|
| (47) | Kisha | aliangusha | <u>sauti</u> | <ny19.2> |
| | then | 1-pst-drop | 9-voice | |
| | Then he lowered is voice. | | | |
| | | | | |
| (48) | watu | walishusha | <u>pumzi</u> | <d96.2> |
| | 2-people | 2-pst-exhale | breath | |
| | The people sighed. | | | |

Examples (46)–(48) can therefore be said to be auto-referential by virtue of the objects they occur with. It would be impossible to frown another person's face, lower someone else's voice or sigh for someone. But perfectly possible to fold a letter, drop a handkerchief or take down a box from a shelf.

The only verbs that can be described as inherently auto-referential are the phrasal verbs such as *-kodoa macho* ‘stare’, *-kaa kitako* ‘sit down’ and *-shusha pumzi* ‘sigh’.

Verb–property collocations are also very frequent in this construction and it is the collocation as a whole that is auto-referential. (We have not included collocations that occur only once). Examples of such collocations and their number of occurrence are listed below:

- <i>uma meno</i>	9	'clench teeth'
- <i>meza mate</i>	8	'swallow saliva'
- <i>shusha pumzi</i>	8	'sigh'
- <i>tupa jicho/macho</i>	8	'throw a glance'
- <i>nyanyua</i>		
<i>macho</i>	7	'raise one's eyes'
<i>mguu</i>	2	'raise one's leg'
- <i>pangusa machozi</i>	4	'wipe away tears'
- <i>tumbua macho</i>	4	'thrust our one's eyes'
- <i>kunja uso</i>	4	'frown'
- <i>inua</i>		
<i>mkono</i>	4	'raise one's hand'
<i>uso</i>	2	'raise one's face'
- <i>fumba macho</i>	3	'close one's eyes'
- <i>futa machozi</i>	3	'wipe one's tears'
- <i>geuza uso</i>	3	'turn one's face'
- <i>rusha mikono</i>	3	'throw up hands'
- <i>tikisa kichwa</i>	3	'shake one's head'
- <i>nyoosha mkono</i>	2	'stretch the hand'
- <i>kaa kitako</i>	2	'sit down'
- <i>punga mkono</i>	2	'wave hand'

These collocations involve actions or gestures which are usually a response to some event or conversational exchange. The significance of such collocations for the occurrence / non-occurrence of the possessive is examined in the next section.

5.2.2. Restrictions governing choice of variant

As we observed in section 2.2.3 according to Maw 1992, in constructions in which reference is made to parts of the body, "parts of the body are never referred to with possessives". That is to say, in Swahili one would never say "my stomach" or "my head", but simply "stomach" or "head". She argues that it could be assumed that this is so because the body part is an integral part so that there is no need to specify ownership with a possessive. On the contrary, our data clearly indicate otherwise, as apparent in the following pairs of examples.

- | | | | | | |
|-------|-------------------------------|---------------|---------------|-----------|---------|
| (49a) | alinyanyua | <u>mikono</u> | yake | <ny31.8> | |
| | 1-pst-lift | 4-hand | 4-poss1 | | |
| | He raised his hands. | | | . | |
| (49b) | Alitaka | kunyanyua | <u>mikono</u> | <ny111.3> | |
| | 1-pst-want | inf-lift | 4-hand | | |
| | He wanted to raise his hands. | | | | |
| (50a) | akitikisa | <u>kichwa</u> | chake | <s108.2> | |
| | 1-cncm-shake | 7-head | 7-poss1 | | |
| | He shook his head. | | | | |
| (50b) | huku | akitikisa | <u>kichwa</u> | <s96.2> | |
| | loc | 1-cncm-shake | 7-head | | |
| | As he shook his head. | | | | |
| (51a) | Maimuna | aliinua | <u>uso</u> | wake | <u88.9> |
| | Maimuna | 1-pst-reise | 11-face | 11-poss1 | |
| | Maimuna raised her face. | | | | |
| (51b) | Maimuna | aliinua | <u>uso</u> | | <u68.4> |
| | Maimuna | 1-pst-raise | 11-face | | |
| | Maimuna raised her face. | | | | |

The (a) forms are identical with their (b) counterparts except for the presence of the possessive in the (a) forms.

Although examples with possessives are less numerous than those without, we have seen constructions with possessive in place of the intransitive affective construction (see 3.4.3), the transitive affective construction (see 4.3.1), and in the constructions covered by this chapter, possessives occur in 89 out of the total of 258 examples, or in approximately 30% of cases.

Our concern in this section is to explain why explicit possessives are used here and find out if there are any restrictions governing the choice of implicit or explicit possessor. Unlike the other affective constructions, where the patient was optionally represented by an affective object marker, in this construction the person affected is inherently represented in the subject, so the only structural choice is whether the association of person and property is made explicit with a possessive.

The occurrence or non occurrence of the possessive may be influenced by the following conditions:

(i) There is a tendency for possessive not to occur with lexicalised collocations. For example the list below gives the number of occurrences of some such collocations without possessive and with possessive. There is a single example of *tikisa kichwa chake* (see 50a above), and one example in which the possessive is used contrastively with *punga mkono* 'wave hand' when Bakari returns a hand wave. (cf. A870).

- <i>uma <u>meno</u></i>	9/0	'clench teeth'
- <i>tupa <u>jicho/macho</u></i>	7/0	'throw a glance'
- <i>meza <u>mate</u></i>	8/0	'swallow saliva'
- <i>shusha <u>pumzi</u></i>	8/0	'sigh'
- <i>kunja <u>uso</u></i>	4/0	'frown'
- <i>tikisa <u>kichwa</u></i>	3/1	'shake head'
- <i>kaa <u>kitako</u></i>	2/0	'sit down'
- <i>punga <u>mkono</u></i>	2/1	'wave hand'
- <i>vuta <u>pumzi</u></i>	1/0	'draw breath'
- <i>kodoa <u>macho</u></i>	1/0	'stare with eyes'
- <i>tema <u>mate</u></i>	1/0	'spit'

(ii) Excluding the collocations listed in the previous paragraph possessives occur in 65 of the 151 examples involving external body parts (43%), and in 9

of the 30 examples involving clothing (32%). Only 1 example out of 12 is found of a possessive with bodily fluids and gases which would make 8%, but this example (52 below) is clearly driven by the parallelism between the two phrases *kifua chake chote* and *jasho lake lote*.

- (52) [Sulubu alinanua *kifua* chake chote]
 [Sulubu 1-pst-expand 7-chest 7-poss1 7-all]
 na kukamua *jasho* lake lote <ny158.3>
 & inf-wring_out 5-sweat 5-poss1 5-all
 Sulubu expanded his whole chest and wrung out all his sweat (in his toil to establish farm).

From the above observation we may perhaps conclude that the non-occurrence with a possessive may be due to the nature of body fluids and gases, there is always the probability that they will be auto-referential with the subject. These are very intimate to the self and would hardly be associated with any other person other than the person involved in the construction.

They also have a more personal relationship with the self than the traditional body parts.²

Another observation is that while body fluids and gases are uncountable, external body parts and items of clothing are countable.

(iii) In 3.4.4 we hypothesised that possessives would be more frequent with properties that were further qualified. In the event it was found out that with the auto-referential constructions 25 out of 160 (15.5%) of examples without possessive were so qualified and 11 out of 76 (14.5%) of examples with possessive, hardly a significant variation. If we consider only qualifiers that serve to define the property (lower lip, left leg etc.) there are four such with possessive and four without – too few to observe trends, and they include clearly special cases such as blood donated from doctor/son to patient/ father.

(iv) The likelihood of variants of the construction in which the property is in oblique position occurring or not occurring with possessives is difficult to tell

² According to Abdulaziz (1996:138), the whole-part relationship is reduced where body fluids are concerned. This is because these substances become detached from the body eventually.

since there are only few such examples. 10 examples occur with possessives while 7 occur without.

(v) As we observe in examples (49)–(51), the pairs of examples represent all three authors of our corpus. They all use both variants of the construction, with or without possessive in similar environments.

Although one of the reasons for which the possessive may be used is for clarity of ownership as indicated by Maw (1991:140), there are other factors that come into play as indicated above. However there is no question that the probability that such constructions would be used without the possessive is greater.

These constructions are distinct from reflexive constructions in which the subject and the object refer to the same referent as in “I hate myself”. Here the subject of the sentence is the agent which is animate and the object is equivalent to the agent, ‘myself’ is not an intimate possession in that it refers to the person as a whole and not part of him as it is with intimate possessions. This perhaps is the reason why explicit reflexive markers cannot be used in these expressions therefore authenticating these as alternative reflexive constructions or co-referential.

A few of the verbs involved here are extended by either the applicative or the causative affix. What happens here can be related to what occurs in the affective transitive construction where no overt possessive marker indicates the possessive relation that exists between them.

5.3 Relationship with other affective constructions

5.3.1 Relationship with transitive affective constructions

This construction type bears a close relation with the transitive affective construction, in that both involve an agent, patient and a property. The difference between the two however is that structurally the auto-referential construction involves two arguments and the transitive affective involves three.

Our emphasis is not on the whole-part relationship but ‘personal’ relationship, they emerge

While in the auto-referential the agent is also the patient, the action is carried by the subject to his own body, in transitive affective the action is done by an outside agent, a particular body part or property is involved and the action affects the patient, who is different from the subject, the patient is represented by an additional argument and the agent represents a person who performs the 'operation' on a part of the body of another so that two referents are involved as against one in the auto-referential construction. Therefore while the patient can be said to be actively involved in the auto-referential, the patient in the transitive affective cannot be said to be actively involved in the action, rather it is the outside agent which can be said to be actively involved.

In both constructions the verbs used are usually transitive and as a result, we would have expected that a considerable number of verbs employed here would be identical with those employed in transitive affective constructions. However, our data reflects only a few verbs which overlap in the two construction types (in the same sense). They are:

- <i>inua</i>	raise
- <i>kamata</i>	seize
- <i>shika</i>	hold
- <i>vua</i>	remove/undress
- <i>ziba</i>	block
- <i>geuza</i>	turn

Compare the following examples:

- (53a) Shomari kakamata kichwa. <d54.1>
 Shomari [1]-perf-grasp 7-head <ag _ pr>
 Shomari was holding his head.
- (53b) Biti Kocho alimkamata mkono Tamima. <u54.4>
 Biti Kocho 1-pst-obj1-grasp 3-hand Tamima <ag _-pt pr pt>
 Biti Kocho held Tamima's hand.
- (54a) Sasa kavua buibui <u59.2>
 now [1]-perf-take_off 9-dress <ag _ pr>
 now she took off her buibui (dress with veil).

- (54b) Haya natumvue nguo. <u34.7>
 okay hort-obj1pp-remove 10-clothes <ag _-pt pr>
 Okay let us remove her clothes

The predicates in (54a) -*vua buibui* and (54b) above -*vua nguo* 'undress', refer to actions which are inherently auto-referential or reflexive but in any occasion of incapacity the actions may be carried out on behalf of another, in which case an extra argument is added and the construction becomes affective.

5.3.2 Relationship with intransitive affective constructions

Though at first sight auto-referential and intransitive affective constructions do not have much in common, because verbs employed in auto-referential constructions are transitive while those of intransitive affective constructions are generally intransitive, there are two areas that are worth further consideration. The first concerns derivationally related verbs found in the two constructions, with the transitive (causative) form in the auto-referential construction and the intransitive form in the affective construction. Consider examples (55) and (56).

- (55a) alitoa macho <d120>
 1-pst-protrude 6-eyes
 She popped out her eyes.
- (55b) macho yalimtoka pima nzima <u46.2>
 6-eyes 6-pst-obj1-protrude-stat 9-fathom 9-whole
 His eyes stood out a mile.
- (56a) alishusha pumzi Pandu <d58.11>
 1-pst-descend-cs 10-breath Pandu
 Pandusighed. (literally breathed out)
- (56b) pumzi zilipanda na kushuka <d68.4>
 10-breath 10-pst-climb & inf-descend
 She breathed in and out. (literally her breath climbed up and down.)

In (55a), Masika, former girlfriend of Fumu (who had just been gunned down by the police) had just been arrested for the murder of her husband Fauz (who

together with her father Bwana Mkame forced her into marrying him). As she got out of the police car, she caught glimpse of Fumu's corpse and went berserk and popped out her eyes to show her rage (*-toa* is transitive.)

In (55b) Bi Tamima and her servants had just realised Maimuna's absence from home and was complaining, when they heard the sound of approaching footsteps. She supposed that would be Maimuna and that she (Maimuna) would tell her where she had been. The footsteps turned out to be not Maimuna's but Bwana Maksuudi who had returned home unexpectedly from a supposed retreat. He was already outraged by the events of the evening, his anger is even made worse by this business of Maimuna and his eyes pop^d out at the realisation that Maimuna (his over-protected daughter) had left home. (*-toka* is the stative of *-toa*.)

In (56a) Pandu is trying to convince Kumba (a thief) to join in a strike they are planning to embark on, but Kumba was suspicious and not persuaded at all. Pandu tries to coax him but to no avail. He sighs in exasperation (*-shusha* is the causative of intransitive *-shuka*).

In (56b) Pandu is at the bedside of Bi Staghafiru who was dying and was trying to say her last words to Pandu with much difficulty. The construction expresses the severity of her condition by the noticeable rise and fall of her breath.

With the auto-referential constructions (56a), the action is generally deliberate while with the intransitive affective ones it is usually involuntary (56b), they are things that usually occur without the consent of the patient though they are often triggered by events outside the patient. But whether an action is deliberate or involuntary may also be conditioned by the context of situation. In (55 a & b) the actions appear to be involuntary, there appears to be an overlap of the two constructions.

The difference in the verb forms are due to the construction types, stative extended verbs are frequent with intransitive constructions because the actions are involuntary, in relation to the patient and usually auto-referential verbs are action verbs.

The other area for comment is the relationship between the auto-referential construction and the active inverse variant of the intransitive affective

construction. In 3.2.3 we recognised that a number of examples had been included in which the verb was possibly transitive. Many of the instances surfaced in the active inversion (3.4.2) as in the examples (57) and (58) below. If their inclusion there was inappropriate, then the alternative analysis would be to include them here with the auto-referential construction.

(57) yeyote asiyetoka jasho <d58.7>
 1-anybody 1-neg-opt-rel-go out 5-sweat
 Anyone who does not sweat.

(58) Sasa amejaa majuto na ghadhabu <u98.5>
 now 1-perf-fill 6-regret & 9-rage
 Now she was filled with remorse and rage.

We see in the examples above that though the constructions appear to be transitive the actions are intransitive since the patients can not be said to be actively involved in the actions, since in (57) it is 'sweat' that does not come out of 'anyone', and in (58), it is 'regret' and 'rage' that have filled her. In fact though slightly different the relationship between auto-referential and intransitive affective construction can be said to stem also from the view of a voluntary / involuntary dichotomy. Generally, the auto-referential construction involves voluntary action of the person involved to a part of the body or other properties closely associated with the patient such as lifting up one's arms, stretching one's legs, dressing up and so on. On the contrary with the intransitive affective, the patient is not actively involved in the action, the action is regarded as involuntary. They involve such involuntary actions such as the racing of heart beats, hairs standing on edge and fear entering a person. And this notion of 'involuntariness' is maintained in the active inverse variant of the construction. However, there are constructions which can be said to be ambiguous in respect of the two constructions. Let us take a closer look at the following examples which superficially appear to be auto-referential in form.

(59) aliuma kidole <ny7.2>
 1-pst-bite 7-finger
 she bit her finger.

- (60) Wake walishika mimba <d90.1>
 2-wives 2-pst-hold 9-conception
 Wives got pregnant (took wombs).
- (61) Ameroa nguo mbichi <d116.9>
 1-perf-wet 9-clothes 9-fresh
 He had got his fresh clothes wet.
- (62) lakini masikini kapoteza mguu. <u155.5>
 but 9/1-poor [1]-perf-lose-cs 3-leg
 But the poor man had lost his leg.

In (59), Aziza who has now been deserted by her husband (who took a second wife shortly after she gave birth to Rehema their daughter) counted the number of years she had been deserted, then recalled the good time they had had together the three years they had been together and she bit her finger at the thought. Since this action was performed consciously by the agent, perhaps we would be right to consider the construction as constituting an auto-referential construction. On the other hand we would consider the construction as an inverse intransitive affective if for instance she bit her finger while eating, since in that case the action would be involuntary.

In (60), the author describes how time elapses and the activities that take place as the years pass by, amongst these event are women getting pregnant, bearing children and breast-feeding. The question of conception may be regarded both as a deliberate or non-deliberate action, since one can plan pregnancy or it may just happen. Here the author is just making an observation and we cannot tell whether these pregnancies were planned or not, therefore it is difficult to decide where such constructions belong.

In (61), Mzee Jaku has just been freed from prison by demonstrators who had escaped from the police, it was raining and he allowed the rain to fall on him and wet his dry clothes. Though the action here may be considered as involuntary, because from the context we know that it was caused by the rain, it is possible for one to deliberately wet his clothes in which case such a construction may be regarded as constituting an auto-referential construction.

In (62), Maimuna had just realised that Kabi a fisherman she had just met had an amputated leg, and she thought to herself how handsome and attractive

he was and thought to herself but the poor (boy) had lost his leg. Losing one's leg cannot be regarded as a deliberate action and as an auto-referential construction.

CHAPTER 6: AFFECTIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN THE NARRATIVE CONTINUUM

6.1 Introduction

In the past three chapters we have been concerned with different varieties of affective construction; in the present chapter we examine their combination within the narrative continuum and the influence of the larger context on choice of construction.

We observed in chapter 3 the great preponderance of constructions in which the patient is represented pronominally, which as we shall see reflects the frequent embedding of affective constructions in extended descriptive passages. We also examined, notably in 3.3.3 the mechanism of topicalisation to place a patient in the foreground and make it the referent of subsequent affective constructions.

We have noted at various points (3.4.4; 4.3.1; 5.2) the relative rarity but nevertheless significant use of alternative constructions in which the patient appears as explicit possessor (very occasionally in combination with affective object).

In 5.3.2 we explored relations between the auto-referential and intransitive affective constructions and considered how the relative order of the different thematic roles was correlated with the notion of voluntariness.

In this chapter, we take a closer look at the questions of choice surveyed above by trying to analyse longer texts of the narrative continuum with the aim of establishing some of the factors pre-conditioning choice of construction.

In the next section (6.2) we examine in more detail topicalisation and other mechanisms for placing and maintaining a participant in the foreground.

In 6.3 we examine the use of affective constructions with other constructions in the descriptive fabric.

In 6.4 we return finally to the opposition of affective and possessive constructions.

In order to refer to passages within extended texts, sentences are numbered and references to a given sentence are preceded by \diamond ; where there are multiple

paragraphs, the symbol ¶ is also used; references to clauses within a sentence are marked by an alphabetic suffix, a clause being notionally bounded by comma, or stronger punctuation.

6.2 Mechanisms of foregrounding¹

There are several mechanisms used in the language to bring into the foreground (temporarily or indefinitely) certain elements of the text. In practice we have not found it necessary to keep track of non-human elements, and the present discussion is limited to animate participants capable of functioning as agent or patient. A participant is placed in the foreground by specification (i.e. by being named or uniquely described) in subject or topic position, or in other ways to be considered, and is then available as prime candidate for mapping to the highest animate role (agent or patient). Another participant may be placed in the background (by specification in oblique position or other means) and is then available in transitive clauses for mapping to the secondary animate role, typically patient. This is explored in 6.2.1. Characters that have already been specified in the background may be brought into the foreground by relativization or by other narrative means, e.g. the alternation of speakers in dialogue, as explored in 6.2.2.

The following conventions are used in marking foregrounding mechanisms and references within a text.

Participants identified in subject position are marked ↑ and treated as foreground characters; those identified in oblique position are marked ↓ and treated as background.

↑↑ identifies a foreground character introduced in topic position.

Anaphoric references to the current foreground character is indicated α and to the background β ; $\alpha\beta$ indicates a verb with subject and object referring to foreground and background respectively; $\alpha+$ indicates plural foreground.

Properties and references to properties are indicated by raised a symbol, $^{\alpha}$ again referring to current foreground and $^{\beta}$ referring to the background. The

¹ The analysis of reference in this section is based partly on Mann 1996.

symbol is accompanied by an asterisk ($^{*\alpha}$, $^{*\beta}$ etc.) when in the presence of an explicit possessive.

Where cataphoric reference is made to background characters yet to be identified, the symbol \rightarrow is used following β .

\times highlights a swapping round of foreground and background.

\Leftarrow marks use of *amba*- relative to promote background to foreground.

Temporary change of background/foreground is marked by \Leftarrow .

Speech, bounded by [] is left out of consideration (although the speaker and hearer are usually the foreground and background characters of the surrounding context).

6.2.1 Specification

The most common mechanism by which a participant is placed in the discourse foreground is by specification in subject or topic position.

The choice of mechanism may be motivated by the desired result or by the environment in which this achievement is desired. In effect, every subject which coincides with sentence initial position is considered as a foregrounded character since it is the highest in the hierarchy of elements of structure, and this is the commonest mechanism by which foregrounding is achieved. This may occur in both affective and non-affective constructions. Subjects have sometimes been referred to as topics in relation to the predicate since they carry the most prominent element of the sentence.

Below is an extended text from *Dunia Mti Mkavu* in which the foreground character is introduced always in subject position.

- (1) 1 \uparrow Pandu alinama $_{\alpha}$, na kwa jicho $^{\alpha}$ la karibu aliona $_{\alpha}$ mdomo $^{\beta}$ wa \downarrow bibi $^{\beta}$ huyu umeroa $^{\beta}$ damu $^{\beta}$. 2 Alishtuka $_{\alpha}$ kwa ugunduzi huo. 3 Aliokota $_{\alpha}$ kitambaa. 4 Akaifuata $_{\alpha}$ hiyo damu $^{\beta}$ kutoka mdomoni $^{\beta}$ – nyengine $^{\beta}$ imetapakaa $^{\beta}$ kifuani $^{*\beta}$ pake pote na nyengine $^{\beta}$ imefanya $^{\beta}$ baka kwenye shuka. 5 \times \uparrow Staghafiru anahema $_{\alpha}$, pumzi $^{\alpha}$ za mjusi; kupuma $_{\alpha}$ na

kupumua_α; haziwashi^α wala hazizimi^α moto. 6 ×↑Pandu alinyoosha_α mikono^{*α} yake inotetema^α, akamgeuza_{α/β} ↓mzee_β wake. 7 Alimlaza_{α/β} kichalichali, akamnyoosha_{α/β} miguu^β na mikono^β mbavuni^β. 8 Alimwinua_{α/β} kichwa^β, akakitua_{α/β} na kukiweka_{α/β} sawa. 9 Hima alifika_α kwenye kasha bovu ambalo lilitumika kama meza ya mganga. 10 Hapo alichukua_α pamba na kurudi_α nayo kwa ↓mgonjwa_β. 11 Alimfuta_{α/β} damu^β midomoni^β na kifuni^β. 12 Tena alipangusa_α ile^β ilotapakaa^β kwenye shuka. 13 Kisha alitupa_α pamba iliyotumika ndani ya kikapu kibovu kilichowekwa kupokea uchafu. 14 ×↑Staghafiru aliendelea_α kutweta_α.

<d65.2>

1 Pandu bent down and with a close look, he saw that the lips of this woman were wet with blood (dripping blood). 2 He was startled at this realisation. 3 He fetched a cloth. 4 He traced the blood from her mouth—some had spread across her whole chest and some had soiled the sheet. 5 Staghafiru was panting, with rapid breath like a lizard, in and out, too weak to kindle or quench the fire. 6 Pandu stretched out his trembling hands, he shifted his dear patient. 7 He laid her on her back, he straightened out her legs and her hands at her side. 8 He raised her head, he let it down gently and arranged it well. 9 Quickly he went to the old box which served as a doctor's table. 10 Then he took some cotton wool and returned with it to the patient. 11 He wiped the blood from her lips and chest. 12 Also he wiped that which had spilled on the sheet. 13 Then he threw the used cotton wool into the old (waste) basket which was put there as a rubbish receptacle. 14 Staghafiru continued to gasp for breath.

Context: In the text above Pandu had just returned home to meet Bi Staghafiru his foster mother who was suffering from TB coughing blood and on the point of dying. He tries to make her comfortable by cleaning her up and positioning her well as she lay on her death bed.

In the text reference is made to two characters, Pandu and Bi Staghafiru. In each sentence in the text one of these referents is in foreground position, that is subject position, so that foregrounding is alternated between Pandu and Bi Staghafiru.

In ◇1, Pandu is identified as the foreground character in ◇1*a*. In ◇1*b*, Pandu remains in the foreground and *bibi huyu* 'this old lady' (Bi Staghafiru) is backgrounded. The backgrounding is achieved through a possessive construction in which *bibi huyu* 'this old lady' qualifies the object which is *mdomo* 'mouth'. Pandu remains in the foreground in the next two sentences, ◇2–3. In ◇4, Bi Staghafiru who is in the background is referenced by *mdomoni* 'from her mouth' and *kifuani pake* 'from her chest'.

In ◇5, there is now a switch of the foreground character from Pandu to Bi Staghafiru, the sentence describes her (irregular) breathing. In ◇6, Pandu takes over the foreground position and this is indicated by the use of his name in subject position. Bi Staghafiru is then backgrounded as the focus is on Pandu's ministrations.

Pandu remains foregrounded in ◇7 through to ◇13, while Bi Staghafiru remains in the background. In the last sentence ◇14, Bi Staghafiru takes over the foreground position.

There are several references to Bi Staghafiru as background character; *mdomo wa bibi huyu* ◇2*b*, *mzee wake* ◇6*b*, *mgonjwa* ◇10. All of these are confirmatory in character, since Bi Staghafiru is automatically 'in the background' after being displaced by Pandu's specification in the foreground, but this is a common device to allow some emotive description of the participant.

Most pronominal reference (and implicit references to parts of the body) are to the foreground character, as in ◇5. In transitive (interpersonal) contexts as in ◇6–8, where Pandu is tending to his sick foster-mother, reference is as normal to the background. Within the domain of a verb of perception, as following *aliona* in ◇1*b*, the complement of the verb of perception is treated as temporarily foregrounded (so *damu* is attributable to *bibi huyu*, locally foregrounded).

In the extreme situation of the text, there are some cases where properties belong to background rather than foreground, e.g. *akaifuata hiyo damu kutoka mdomoni* ◇4, and again in ◇12 *tena alipangusa ile <damu> ilotapakaa kwenye shuka*. In both cases the reference is signalled by a demonstrative.

As mentioned in 3.3.3 the topic is commonly used in conjunction with the intransitive affective construction. In continuous narrative, the mechanism is used first of all to draw attention to the foregrounded item which usually is the affected person. Secondly it is a mechanism that indicates or points to change of referent, especially in a continuous text where there are frequent switches between two or more referents. (The pre-sentential topic has also been referred to as left-dislocation.)

- (2) 1 ↑Fumu sasa woga^α umemtoka^{ω/α}. 2 Jicho^α la hasira kalitoa^{ω/α}. 3 Sauti^α imemtetemeka^{ω/α}. 4 Bila ya shaka, alilolisema^α lilikuwa tusi kubwa kwa ↓Fauz^z ×←ambaye^α alihisi^α kama kachomwa^α kisu cha chembe cha moyo^α; mtimko wa damu^α ulitimka^α ghafla, pumzi^α zilimfoka^{ω/α} ovyo, ufidhuli^α ulimwenda^{ω/α} na ari^α ya ujana ilimshawishi^{ω/α} vibaya. 5 Kama mwanajeshi hodari alishusha^α bunduki yake akagonga^α tako lake kwenye ardhi. 6 Vumbi lilitimka. 7 ×↑Fumu moyo^α ukimgota^{ω/α}, lakini alisimama^α kidete, ushupavu^α ukimwenda^{ω/α}. 8 ×↑Fauz sasa malaika^α yamemsimama^{ω/α}, aliuma^α meno^α na kusikiliza^α uchungu wa maneno^{*β} ya ↓Fumu ukimpanda^{β/α} na kumteremeka^{β/α} upesi upesi. 9 Hasira^α, ghadhabu^α...↑Fauz alianza^α kupoteza^α nafsi^{*α} yake. 10 Hakuwa^α tena yeye.

<d8.1-2>

1 Now fear had gone out of Fumu. 2 He stared with an angry eye. 3 His voice trembled. 4 Undoubtedly what he said was a great insult to Fauz who felt as if he had been stabbed right in the heart with a knife. 4 Adrenaline surged suddenly, he panted uncontrollably, arrogance mounted in him and youthful pride pressed him strongly. 5 Like a skilled soldier he lowered his gun and hit its bottom on the ground. 6

Dust rose up. 7 Fumu's heart thumped but he stood fast, and maintained a brave front. 8 Now Fauz had goose flesh, he clenched his teeth and hearing the bitterness of Fumu's words rise and descend in him rapidly. 9 Anger, rage...Fauz begun to loose his confidence. 10 He was no longer himself.

Context: In the text, Fauz, son of a land owner threatened and had a confrontation with Fumu, a farmer who leased land from Fauz's father. Narrating what transpired between the two characters, the author uses the mechanism of topic switching and foregrounding.

The first sentence of the text is preceded by a direct speech uttered by Fumu. In ◇1 he is foregrounded through pre-sentential topicalisation, in an intransitive affective construction. In ◇2 there is no change of reference, *Jicho la hasira* 'eye of hatred', however is fronted as object to an auto referential construction. The topic Fumu is also referenced by an affective construction in ◇3. In ◇4 the relative *alilolisema* 'what he said' continues with Fumu in foreground position, however after clause ◇4a, Fauz who is in the background is brought into the foreground. The relative *ambaye* 'who' is used and this brings Fauz into the foreground without the use of topicalisation (see 6.2.2), and he (Fauz) remains in the foreground throughout the rest of the sentence. The clauses which follow the relative *amba* clause describe Fauz's angry and aggressive mood.

In ◇5 Fauz is still in the foreground. Fumu is then brought into the foreground again by topicalisation in ◇7 and then the foreground switches to Fauz again almost immediately in ◇8, while ◇8b apparently describes the effects on Fauz (foreground) of (background) Fumu's words to him; we again have a temporary reversal of foreground and background within the domain of a verb of perception. Fauz remains in the foreground in the last two sentences, ◇9 and ◇10.

Topicalisation also occurs in auto-referential constructions (see section 5.2.2). Here it is the property that is foregrounded in topic position. Normally the action of an auto-referential construction is deliberately instigated by the patient, such actions as raising the hand, closing the eyes, nodding etc. Usually

when the topicalised auto-referential construction is used, it is done in the environment of a series of intransitive affective constructions. This observation has led to our concluding that the auto-referential construction is topicalised, bringing the property into focus to indicate the involuntary nature an action which is usually regarded as voluntary. In effect the fronting position of the property whether in an affective construction or auto-referential construction expresses the involuntary nature of the action.

6.2.2 Switching

In the narrative continuum, it is often the case that at some point the background character comes into the foreground and the foreground character is pushed into the background. Instead of specification, this may be achieved by 'switching'. Switching is usually effected through the process of relativization using the analytic relative *amba-*, as we observed in (2 (4b)), and is further illustrated in texts (3) and (4). (For relative constructions in Swahili see e.g. Ashton (1944:110), Schadeberg (1989), Russell (1992).

- (3) 1 \uparrow Kidawa alirudi $_{\alpha}$ magharibi na kufikia $_{\alpha}$ kibarazani yeye $_{\alpha}$ na bwana $_{\alpha+}$ mmoja, kumsubiri $_{\alpha\beta-}$, Chiku $\times\Leftarrow$ ambaye $_{\alpha}$ alikawia $_{\alpha}$ kubanduka $_{\alpha}$ mle katika chumba kidogo. 2 $\times\uparrow$ Rehema kwa haya $^{*\alpha}$ zake, hakuweza $_{\alpha}$ kwenda $_{\alpha}$ kumkabili $_{\alpha\beta-}$, \downarrow Kidawa mbele ya \downarrow yule mtu mgeni, kwa hiyo alibaki $_{\alpha}$ ndani mpaka \uparrow Ruzuna alipomjia $_{\alpha\beta}$ na masikitiko.

<ny54.9>

1 Kidawa returned in the evening and arrived at the veranda with a certain man to wait for Chiku who delayed disengaging herself there in the small room. 2 Rehema in her shyness was not able to go and face Kidawa in front of the visitor, so she remained inside until Ruzuna came to her with disappointment.

Context: Kidawa, Chiku, Ruzuna and Rehema are four young women sharing a two-roomed flat. They use the smaller of the two for

entertaining their male visitors, one at time. In the text Chiku is in the small room with her male friend, and Kidawa is waiting outside to use the room with her male friend. Rehema, too embarrassed to face Kidawa and her visitor, remains in the other room and Ruzuna joins her there in sympathy.

There are six referents in this short text, Kidawa and her male friend, Chiku and her male friend whose reference is implicit, Ruzuna and Rehema. (1 begins with Kidawa and her man 'bwana' in foreground by subject specification and Chiku is cataphorically referenced as background in (1b; then a switch in foreground by relativization which brings Chiku from the background into foreground. In (2 the narrative continues with Rehema now specified as foreground with cataphoric reference to Kidawa in background in (2b while from the remote context of (1a with the assistance of the demonstrative *yule*, her male friend is referenced as a secondary background character. Rehema remains in the foreground (*alibaki ndani* (2c), then within the final temporal clause Ruzuna is foregrounded leaving Rehema in the background as object of *alipomjia* ((2c).

- (4) 1↑Maimuna alimpa_{αβ→}, mchi ↓Bi Farashuu, ×←ambaye_α ingawa kakonga_α kidogo sasa, bado alikuwa_α mwenye siha^{*α} yake. ×↑ 2 Maimuna aliwainga_{αβ→}, wale ↓kuku ←waliojileta_{ωα} chini ya kinu. 3 Baadaye alivuta_α kumbi akalikalia_α. 4 Akaanza_α kupeta_α mchele.

<u172.1>

1 Maimuna gave the pestle to Bi Farashuu who was still full of vitality, though a little frail now. 2 Maimuna chased away the chickens who had taken themselves beneath the mortar. 3 Later she pulled out the seat and sat on it. 4 She started winnowing the rice.

Context: In the text, Maimuna who was pregnant was pounding rice, and her husband's grandmother Bi Farashuu who lived with them came to help her, taking the pestle from her.

1 His thoughts overflowed like a spring. 2 They rose to his head and kept on rising. 3 A conflagration erupted somewhere inside his being. 4 His heart beat feverishly. 5 It thumped heavily. 6 Suddenly he felt hot all over, he didn't know where from, but the heat concentrated in his chest. 7 His blood was surging abnormally. 8 His feelings were unable to bear the gravity of what he had heard. 9 An impulse emerged from his head. 10 He raised his arm, he clenched his fist, he tightened his muscles. 11 His face was smarting, his eyes were full of tears, his lips started trembling. 12 He bit his lower lip with his upper teeth, and released the muscles of his raised hand; the hand started trembling. 13 Tears flowed from him in two streams, but no sound came out.

Context: A young boy Kitwana has just told Fumu that his farm is on fire. The text expresses his reaction to the news as he goes through a series of emotions being greatly overwhelmed by the news.

Fumu is the only animate referent in the text, so naturally Fumu is in foreground throughout. The text is made up exclusively of affective and related constructions, describing in detail Fumu's reaction to the news of his farm which was set alight, reflected physically through expressions and gestures. The text describes the systematic progression of his reaction. The text also exhibits well the involuntary nature of the intransitive affective and the voluntary nature of the auto-referential construction.

(\diamond 1–9 describes Fumu's state of shock, overflowing thoughts, racing heart and so on, by the use of intransitive affective constructions ((\diamond 1 and (\diamond 6a) and related constructions in which the patient is implicit ((\diamond 2–5 and (\diamond 7–9). All that is going on at the moment is reflex actions, hence the use of the intransitive affective and related constructions. (\diamond 10 is made up three non-dislocated auto-referential constructions, describing his voluntary attempt to get a grip on himself, the attempt is short lived as is described in (\diamond 11a–c, by intransitive affective constructions in which his emotions were almost uncontrollable. In (\diamond 12 he attempts again to control his emotions; again this is expressed by non-dislocated auto-referential constructions indicating the conscious effort he

makes. In $\diamond 12a$ he consciously bites his lower lip (to stop it from trembling, see $\diamond 11c$), but in $\diamond 12c$ an implicit intransitive affective construction expresses his inability also to stop the trembling of his hand as he releases the muscles of his raised hand. His emotions come to a climax in $\diamond 13$ where he loses control completely and the tears which have gathered in his eyes in $\diamond 11b$ roll down silently (intransitive affective construction followed by implicit).

- (8) ¶1 Wakati huu \uparrow Mashaka alikuwa $_{\alpha}$ ameshatoka $_{\alpha}$ chumbani, akenda $_{\alpha}$ kuinamia $_{\alpha}$ shimo la karo iliyokuwepo hapo uani. 2 $\times \uparrow$ Bi Mtumwa na hamasa $^{*\alpha}$ zake alipenya $_{\alpha}$ kiubavuubavu penye kilango cha \downarrow Bakari na kukwamkia $_{\alpha}$ nje ambako alimwona $_{\alpha/\beta \rightarrow}$ \downarrow mumewe (akitema $_{\beta}$ damu $^{\beta}$.) 3 Bi Mtumwa moyo $^{\alpha}$ ulimgutuka $^{\alpha/}_{\alpha}$. 4 Hakujijua $_{\alpha/\alpha}$ vipi, alijikuta $_{\alpha/\alpha}$ chini ya miguu $^{*\beta}$ yake. 5 Akanyoosha $_{\alpha}$ kono $^{*\alpha}$ lake hadi kwenye kidevu $^{*\beta}$ cha mumewe na kumwinua $_{\alpha/\beta}$ uso $^{\beta}$. 6 \times ['Niche bwana,'] alimaka $_{\alpha}$ \uparrow Mashaka kwa deko.

¶2 \uparrow Lo, \uparrow Mashaka alikuwa $_{\alpha}$ kaumia $_{\alpha}$ vibaya. 2 Midomo $^{*\alpha}$ yake imevimba $^{\alpha}$ na kuzidi kuchanukia $^{\alpha}$ nje kudhihirisha $^{\alpha}$ mibabuo $^{\alpha}$ ya ulevi iliyomwota $^{\alpha/}_{\alpha}$ na kumbadilisha $^{\alpha/}_{\alpha}$ sura $^{\alpha}$. 3 Kwenye pembe mbili za fupa $^{\alpha}$ la uso $^{\alpha}$, pameota baka la buluu. 4 Damu $^{\alpha}$ imemwiva $^{\alpha/}_{\alpha}$. 5 Uso $^{\alpha}$ umemharibika $^{\alpha/}_{\alpha}$ vibaya vibaya. 6 $\times \uparrow$ Bi Mtumwa aliwacha $_{\alpha}$ kinywa $^{\alpha}$ wazi. 7 Ndio kwanza sasa, baada ya hasira $^{*\alpha}$ zake kupucha $^{\alpha}$, agundue $_{\alpha}$ namna alivyomhasiri $_{\alpha/\beta}$ mwenzake. 8 Kumbe hamaki $^{\alpha}$ zilimziba $^{\alpha/}_{\alpha}$ macho $^{\alpha}$. 9 Hamaki $^{\alpha}$ ndwele. 10 \times ['Oh, masikini mume wangu, umeumia kiasi hiki,'] \uparrow Bi Mtumwa alisikitika $_{\alpha}$ kama vile kitendo cha kuuharibu $_{\alpha/\beta}$ uso $^{*\beta}$ wa \downarrow Mashaka kama hakukitenda $_{\alpha}$ yeye.

<d29.5-6>

¶1 This time Mashaka had come out of the room, he went to bend over the sink in the courtyard. 2 Bi Mtumwa in her anger had slipped sideways into Bakari's doorway and protruded outside where she saw her husband spitting blood. 3 Bi Mtumwa's heart was startled. 4 She

did not know how, she saw herself at his feet. 5 She stretched out her hand to reach her husband's chin and lifted up his face. 6 'Leave me hey,' Mashaka exclaimed petulantly.

¶2 Indeed, Mashaka was badly hurt. 2 His lips were turned outwards exposing the drink-induced blotchiness which had developed marring his face. 3 Two blue bruises had spread at the two corners of his cheek bone. 4 His eyes were bloodshot. 5 His face was badly marred. 6 Bi Mtumwa gaped. 7 It is now after her anger had subsided, that she realised the damage she had inflicted on her partner. 8 How anger had blinded her! 9 Anger is a sickness. 10 'Oh my poor husband, you are so badly hurt.' Bi Mtumwa was concerned as if it was not her who was responsible for ruining Mashaka's face.

Context: Mashaka and his wife Mtumwa had just had one of their usual fights which has resulted in Mashaka sustaining some injuries. Bakari their neighbour who was always caught as an arbitrator between them had no choice but to separate them when they landed in his room in a fall. In the text the fight is over and Mashaka who is badly hurt goes to bend over the sink and is followed by Mtumwa who now realises how badly she has hurt him.

¶102 describes Bi Mtumwa's anger towards Mashaka. Bi Mtumwa and *hamasa zake* are linked by the linker *na* as if they were separate entities.

¶103–5 describe Bi Mtumwa's reaction when she saw Mashaka bend over the sink, including intransitive and transitive affective and auto-referential clauses:

<i>Bi Mtumwa moyo ulingutuka.</i>	topicalised affective
<i>Hakujijua vipi,</i>	adverbial clause of manner
<i>alijikuta chini ya miguu yake.</i>	locational
<i>Akanyoosha kono lake hadi</i>	auto-referential with possessive
<i>kwenye kidevu cha mumewe</i>	
<i>na kumwinua uso.</i>	transitive affective

In $\diamond 3$ Bi Mtumwa is confirmed as foreground by topic specification in an affective construction. The reflexive constructions in $\diamond 4a-b$ express manner and location, in $\diamond 4b$ Mashaka is represented implicitly as possessor in *miguu yake*. In $\diamond 5$ Bi Mtumwa is still in the foreground specified as subject of an auto-referential construction with explicit possessive *kono lake* confirming Bi Mtumwa as possessor and Mashaka referenced *mumewe* in the background as possessor of *kidevu*. $\diamond 5b$ is a transitive affective construction confirming Bi Mtumwa as foreground and Mashaka as background.

¶201–5 describes the extent of Mashaka’s injuries. This is achieved through a succession of affective constructions. $\diamond 2$ is a complex sentence made up of several clauses in which the subject *midomo yake* indicates Mashaka as possessor, *ulevi* is brought into focus temporarily by the integral relative *iliyomwota*, and *midomo* acting as a surrogate agent remains subject to the following transitive affective construction describing the effect of the swollen lips on his face.

Finally ¶206–10 describes Bi Mtumwa’s regret as she realises the extent to which she had hurt Mashaka with the clauses:

<i>Bi Mtumwa aliwacha kinywa wazi.</i>	auto-referential without possessive
<i>Ndio kwanza sasa</i>	(temporal)
<i>baada ya hasira zake kupucha,</i>	intransitive, explicit possessive
<i>agundue namna alivyomhasiri mwenzake.</i>	transitive
<i>Kumbe hamaki zilimziba macho.</i>	transitive affective with surrogate agent
...	
<i>kitendo cha kuuharibu uso</i>	cf. transitive affective; patient
<i>wa Mashaka</i>	named as possessor of property
...	

$\diamond 6$ begins with an auto-referential construction with Bi Mtumwa specified as subject, and as such *kinywa* is not qualified by a possessive. In $\diamond 7$ *hasira* is qualified by a possessive linking it syntactically to Bi Mtumwa and not Mashaka. $\diamond 8$ is difficult; it has the form of a transitive affective, in which

hamaki is personified as agent, but the anger is clearly referable to Bi Mtumwa, who is also the referent of the affective object of *ziliziba macho*, so that the construction is more reminiscent of the surrogate agent construction of section 3.4.5. In $\diamond 10$ focus is on Mashaka's disfigured face, hence *uso* is anticipated by object marking in the verb as well as being qualified by Mashaka as possessor.

- (9) 1 Hapo muziki ulibadilika ghafla. 2 Naam, \uparrow Maimuna alianza _{α} kudemka _{α} . 3 Ulikuwa mdemko kweli. 4 Alidemka _{α} yeye mzima. 5 Alipohitaji _{α} yalidemka ^{$\alpha \rightarrow$} mapaja ^{α} , kikademka ^{α} na kiuno ^{α} . 6 Yakacheza ^{$\alpha \rightarrow$} mabega ^{α} . 7 Ikapunga ^{$\alpha \rightarrow$} mikono ^{α} . 8 Ikakatika ^{$\alpha \rightarrow$} shingo ^{α} , kichwa ^{α} ...vyote vilicheza ^{α} kama ngoma ilivyoamrisha. 9 \times Kofi, kelele, mbinja, vicheko, furaha, vigelegele. 10 \times Mdemko ulizidi, na \uparrow watu walizidi _{$\alpha+$} kushangiria _{$\alpha+$} .

<u126.1>

1 Then the music changed abruptly. 2 Indeed, Maimuna begun to gyrate. 3 This was truly a gyration. 4 The whole of her gyrated. 5 As she required her thighs gyrated, and her hips gyrated. 6 Her shoulders shook. 7 Her hands waved. 8 Her neck swung, her head ... everything shook as the music commanded. 9 Applause, noise, cat calls, laughter, joy, ululation. 10 The gyration increased, and the people cheered the more.

Context: Maimuna, a runaway daughter of a rich politician, became involved in prostitution and is now a singer performing in a hotel. In the text she makes her appearance on the stage shaking her body to the music.

Throughout the text none of the properties associated with Maimuna is explicitly linked to her either by possessive or by affective object. Clearly the actions are voluntary, and the focus is not on Maimuna as a person but on the dance. Further in $\diamond 5-8a$ the position of subject and verb has been exchanged – *Yalidemka mapaja, kikademka na kiuno, Yakacheza mabega, Ikapunga mikono,*

Ikakatika shingo. It is difficult to say whether the verb is left-dislocated or the subject (property) is right-dislocated – but the effect is clearly to draw attention to the manner of movement and then to the list of body parts involved. ◇8*b* summarises this in an implicit construction without inversion, linking it to the accompanying music. ◇9 describes public reaction in a list of nouns expressing the response of the audience, without any explicit verb or agent, until *watu* ‘people’ are specified in ◇10*b*.

The text illustrates how constructions can be manipulated to give a desired aesthetic effect to the narrative.

6.4 Possessive constructions revisited: the opposition of affective and possessive constructions within the narrative

We have observed that in many instances in which affective constructions are used, ordinary possessive constructions could also be used. In 3.4.4 and 5.2.2, we discussed a few situations that may condition the choice between a possessive construction and an affective one. In 3.4.4 we mentioned the use of the possessive to place the possessor in the foreground. In 5.2.2 we hypothesised that the choice to use or not to use possessive among other things is also influenced by the property in question and/or the desired effect of the writer. In this discussion we refer to two texts (10) and (11).

In the passages within this section, **bold face** has been used for properties and corresponding possessive, *italic* has been used for the nouns and verbs involved in affective constructions, and underlining has been used where properties are pre-referenced directly by object-markers.

- (10) ↑Rehema alimshukuru_{α/β} tena, na kuingia_α chumbani kwa ↓mtoto. 2
Alifunga_α mlango, akajaribu_α kuvaa_α **kanzu**^{*α} **yake** mpya, kisha
akasimama_α mbele ya kioo kirefu kilichotundikwa ukutani, na kwa
muda mrefu alijigeuza_{α/α} huku na huku kujitazama_{α/α}, kama vile

akikuwa_α mgeni na **mwili**^{*α} **wake** mwenyewe. 3 Mara ya mwisho alipojiona_{α/α} katika kioo kikubwa, safi, miezi michache iliyopita, alipokuwa_α kwao Mbiju, alikuwa tofauti_α na ile **sura**^α iliyomkabili_α^ω mbele ya kioo wakati ule. 4 **Sura**^α iliyomkabili_α^ω ilikuwa^α ya mwanamke_α ← aliyetimua_α. 5 **Kifua**^{*α} **chake** kimeumka^α, **midomo**^{*α} **yake** imejaa^α, **mashavu**^{*α} **yake** yaking'aa^α, na alipokupia_α **macho**^{*α} **yake** yalimeta^α miali ya nuru. 6 **Msukosuko**^α wote uliompata_α^ω ulishindwa^α kuathiri^α isipokuwa **ngozi yake**^{*α}, ← ambayo hivi sasa ilififia^α katika weusi, na **chunusi**^α mbili-tatu zikatona^α **uso**^{*α} **wake**. 7 Alisogeza_α zaidi **uso**^α chini ya kioo na kuupapasa_α^ω kwa **vidole**^α, akahakikisha_α kuwa yeye_α siye kabisa Rehema wa zamani. 8 Lakini aliponyanyua_α **macho**^α kuzitazama_α^{ω→} **nywele**^{*α} **zake**, **hasira**^α isiyo na faida yo yote ilimpanda_α^ω kuziona_α^ω jinsi zilivyopiga^α mafundo na kujinyonga_{α/α}^ω. 9 Alijitupa_{α/α} kitini na kuziona_α^{ω→} (**furaha**^{*α} **yake**, mara ile, imepotea^α.)

<ny52.5>

Rehema thanked him again and entered the child's room. 2 She closed the door, tried to put on her new gown, and stood in front of the long mirror against the wall, and for a long time she turned from side to side looking at her reflection, as if she herself were a stranger to her body. 3 The last time she saw herself in a big clean mirror was a few months ago, when she was home at Mbiju, she looked different from the face which confronted her in the mirror that time. 4 The face which confronted her [now] was that of a mature woman. 5 Her chest had expanded, her lips were well fleshed, her cheeks were shiny, and when she blinked her eyes, they sparkled. 6 The misfortune which befell her failed to affect her apart from her skin, which was now pale, and a few pimples which spotted her face. 7 She drew nearer to the mirror and touched it with her fingers, she made certain that she was not at all the Rehema of old. 8 But when she lifted her eyes to look at her hair, an unjustified anger surged in her seeing how it was knotted and tangled

up. 9 She threw herself into the chair and realised that her joy for the moment was quenched.

Context: Rehema a young girl had run away from home to the city where she lived with three other girls. Her first job was being nanny to the child of Mansuri and his wife Rosi, a nurse on night duty. Mansuri playing on her innocence bought her a dress (with the intention of seducing her) and had asked her to try it on. In the text Rehema thanks him and goes to change into her new dress and examines herself in the mirror, noticing how much her appearance had changed, not having seen her reflection in the mirror for a long while.

This passage is remarkable for the frequent use of the possessive with properties, and the single use of an affective construction in the conclusion to the passage ◇8*b*. The dress she is putting on is hers as a gift, not one of her own. When she looks in the mirror, she sees the image as something foreign and unfamiliar (*alikuwa mgeni na mwili wake mwenyewe* ‘foreign to her own body’), and the description remains at a distance – *sura iliyomkabili* ‘the face that confronted her’ is described as belonging to *mwanamke aliyetimu* ‘a mature woman’, clearly different from her own self-perception. (There is also a reference to the previous time she had seen herself in a mirror – *ile sura iliyomkabili [...] wakati ule* ‘the face that confronted her [...] at that time’ – again suggesting something outside herself.)

Then as she looks more closely in the mirror in ◇7, she starts exploring her face with her fingers; what she feels and fingers is referred to without possessive, but what she sees in the mirror is qualified by a possessive. Her self-examination too appears as objective – *uso ... kuupapasa kwa vidole* ‘to feel her face with her fingers’ has an object-marker in agreement with *uso* ‘face’ rather than the personal object-marker we might expect. (*nywele* ‘hair’ is similarly marked).

The final use of an affective construction (in ◇8*b*) relates to her anger at the sight of her unkempt hair.

- (11) 1 Alipomaliza_α kuoga_α alimkuta_{α/β} ↓Thomas amemngojea_{β/α} chumbani.
 2 ↑Rosa alikuwa_α amevaa_α **kanga** moja. 3 ×↑Thomas aliangalia_α kila kitendo alichotenda_β. 4 × ↑Rosa alijikausha kwa taulo^α polepole sana; alichana_α **nywele**^{*α} **zake**. 5 × ↑Thomas aliona_α anapoteza_α muda. 6 Aliamka_α. 7 Alimshika_{α/β→} ↓Rosa; alimbana_{α/β} na kumbusu_{α/β}. 8 Walikaa_{α+} kitandani. 9 Walisimama_{α+} tena. 10 Walibusiana_{α+}. 11 ↑Thomas alikuwa_α akiyachezea_{α/β} **matiti**^{*β} ya ↓Rosa kwa **mkono**^α mmoja kama mtu_α ←anayechukua mayai mawili **mkono**^α mmoja. 12 Walikaa_{α+} kitandani tena. 13 ↑Kila mmoja **moyo**^α ulikuwa^α **ukimdunda**^{α/α}. 14 Walibusiana_{α+} tena na tena. 15 ↑Thomas alikishika_{α/β} **kidevu**^{*β} **cha** ↓Rosa kwa **mkono**^α mmoja, **mkono**^α mwingine ulikuwa^α **ukipapasapapasa**^α **kiuno**^{*β} **chake**. 16 Polepole **aliinua**_α **uso**^{*β} **wa** ↓Rosa. 17 Walitazamana_{α+} **machoni**.

<r63.11>

When she finished bathing she found Thomas waiting for her in the room. 2 Rosa had on one *kanga* (wrapper). 3 Thomas watched every action she made. 4 Rosa wiped herself very slowly with a towel; she combed her hair. 5 Thomas saw he was losing time². 6 He stood up. 7 He held Rosa; he squeezed and kissed her. 8 They sat on the bed. 9 They stood up again. 10 They kissed. 11 Thomas was playing with Rosa's breasts with one hand like a man carrying two eggs in one hand. 12 They sat on the bed again. 13 Both their hearts were thumping. 14 They kissed (each other) again and again. 15 Thomas held Rosa's chin with one hand, the other hand was stroking her waist. 16 Gently he lifted up Rosa's face. 17 They looked each other in the eye.

Context: Rosa, a school girl who has rebelled against her strict upbringing, has been dated by her unprincipled headmaster Thomas.

² It is not clear from the context which of the two referents the subject of *anapoteza* refers to, although it follows the verb of perception *aliona* to which Thomas is subject it could well be interpreted as 'Thomas saw she was wasting time'.

Text (11) is extracted from a book cited extensively by Hinnebusch and Kirsner 1980 in their examination of inalienable possession. They quote the last three sentences of this text to demonstrate that non-genitival (affective) and genitival (possessive) sentences contrast in the degree of involvement of the 'possessor'. Thomas took hold of Rosa's chin (rather than Rosa's person) as 'a lever to lift Rosa's head' to kiss her (1980: 7–8).

The longer text appears to confirm that the large number of possessive constructions reflect the fact that Rosa is being seen as a body rather than as a whole person. Rosa is initially in the foreground as she provokes Thomas by taking her time over her toilet. Then from ◇5 Thomas is in the foreground for the rest of the passage either alone or jointly with Rosa. (Use of plural in ◇8, ◇12 and ◇17 serves to bring Rosa to the joint foreground, with specification of Thomas by name in ◇11 and ◇15 putting Rosa back in the background). There is one use of an affective construction in ◇13 to describe their mutual excitement. Otherwise references to Rosa's body are generally with possessive: *nywele zake* ◇4, *matiti ya Rosa* ◇11, *kidevu cha Rosa* ◇15a, *kiuno chake* ◇15b, *uso wa Rosa* ◇16; in ◇11 and ◇15a, *matiti* and *kidevu* are further focussed by a cataphoric object-marking in the verb. All references to properties belonging to Thomas occur without possessive: *kwa mkono mmoja* ◇11 and ◇15a, *mkono mwingine* ◇15b, the last occurring as subject in place of Thomas (as surrogate agent), further emphasising the physicality.

The final reciprocal *walitazamana machoni* ◇17, refers to their eyes without possessive.

In the two passages examined in this section, possessives have often been used when focus is on the (physical) property rather than on the referent. Affective constructions have tended to be used when the focus is on emotions.

Earlier in this chapter we have examined longer texts seeking a wider perspective on the choice of affective, possessive and implicit constructions (in which the relation between property and person is unstated). Among mechanisms of foregrounding we noted topicalisation as particularly significant with the intransitive affective construction. Constructions are frequently mixed (though there is a tendency to preserve a common order of property and verb

where auto-referential and affective constructions are mixed). It seems that explicit connection between properties and person are made explicit periodically (to keep them from fading from attention).

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

Although many languages have special constructions associated with 'inalienable possessions', the boundaries of what constitute such possessions vary considerably from language to language. In the case of Swahili we have identified transitive and intransitive affective constructions, and found that the properties occurring in them include: parts of the body, non-physical personal attributes such as anger, fear, thoughts etc., mental and physical states such as sickness, drunkenness, insanity etc., and bodily discharges such as blood, sweat, tears, breath, body heat etc which may lose contact with the body but may still be referred to the body from which they have come.

It appears therefore more appropriate to speak of "intimate possessions". Other authors (e.g. Scotton 1981a/b & Harries 1969) have suggested that constructions of this kind extend to whole-part relations generally, but we have not explored this in any detail.

Describing affective constructions in detail, we have distinguished many varieties and have endeavoured to identify factors influencing the choice between varieties.

Previous treatments of the phenomenon have concentrated more on the transitive affective construction while the intransitive affective construction which is more common has been largely overlooked. What we have regarded as the inverse variant of the intransitive affective construction [pt _ pr] has been regarded in previous treatments as the main or only variant of the construction; we have regarded the more common and basic variant of the construction [pr _ -pt] as the canonical variant. We have considered the inverse (patient-initial) variant as less common and therefore marked, since not all constructions of the canonical form (property-initial) can have an inverse counterpart, contrary to the impression that has been given.

The auto-referential construction [ag _ pr] has also been considered with the other two affective constructions because of the similar implicit and intimate relationship which holds between the agent/possessor and the property. At the same time the variant of the auto-referential construction with possessive

[ag _ pr*] has falsified the claim that inalienable possessions in Swahili do not occur with possessives (Maw 1992:140). Where choice of verb allows a choice between affective and auto-referential constructions, the latter appears to emphasise voluntariness.

We have noted also that in Swahili the choice of affective or possessive construction is by and large influenced by the desired effect since most affective (non-genitival) constructions can have a possessive (genitival) counterpart. The alternation of affective and possessive constructions in longer texts has shown that often affective constructions have been used to place *referents* into focus position to express emotions, while possessives have been used to bring the *properties* in question into focus.

Faced with the varied constructions associating person and property (affective, possessive, and the implicit assumption of possessor), we looked at longer texts, noting the mechanisms for putting characters in the foreground and background, and associating properties with them. We noted a great variety of use, with a tendency to preserve the same order of property and verb whether the person is an affective object or an auto-referential subject. The two strategies of affective marking and possession are intermixed with implicit constructions in a way that suggests a need to make the connection explicit at modest intervals (just as the author of a discussed work may be reiterated periodically in a dissertation). Motives for the preference of the possessive construction over the affective are not very clear, but passages that seem to particularly favour the possessive are paying more attention to the physical body than to the emotions of the participants.

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APPENDIX

Intransitive affective constructions (cf chapter 3)

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With pre-referenced patient

- (A1) <d4.1> [pr _-pt mnr]
[mguu] ulikuwa umemjaa tele, na bado uliendelea kupwita
 His leg preoccupied him (lit. his leg filled him completely), and it continued to throb.
- (A2) <d5.3> [pr _-pt]
 Lakini baadaye ari na takaburi ilimpanda na kumdodofya
 But afterwards determination and pride rose up in him and perplexed him.
- (A3) <d7.2> [pr _-pt]
 Huku moyo wa ari ukimpiga na huku woga wa lazima ukimlainisha
 With his stubborn heart thumping and with inescapable fear mellowing him, he...
- (A4) <d7.3> [pr _-pt]
hamasa zinamchemka.
 He is boiling with anger.
- (A5) <d8.2> [pr _-pt]
Sauti inamtetema.
 [Fumu] His voice was trembling.
- (A6) <d8.2> [pr _-pt mnr]
pumzi zilimfoka ovyo
 He panted uncontrollably
- (A7) <d8.2> [pr _-pt]
ufidhuli ulimwenda
 Arrogance went out of him.
- (A8) <d8.2> [pr _-pt mnr]
ari ya ujana ilimshawishi vibaya
 Youthful pride pressed him strongly.
- (A9) <d9.1> [pr _-pt]
Midomo ilimtetemeka na meno yelimcheza.
 His lips trembled and his teeth chattered.
- (A10) <d11.2> [pr _-pt]
masikio yalimparama
 His ears were blocked.
- (A11) <d11.13> [pr _-pt]
 Aliendelea kucheka kwa muda mpaka lile blanketi lilimwanguka
 He continued to laugh for sometime until that blanket fell off him.
- (A12) <d17.2> [pr _-pt]
Mgongo wanipwita
 my back is throbbing.
- (A13) <d20.6> [pr _-pt mnr]
Malaika yalimsimama ghafla.
 His body hair suddenly stood on edge.
- (A14) <d21.5> [pr _-pt]
kanga zilimvuka,
 Her clothes slipped off her.

- (A15) <d21.6> [pr _-pt]
 [chozi] na kama lingemtiririka
 and if he had shed tears.
- (A16) <d22.5> [pr _-pt]
 kipovu cha ndomo kinamtoka.
 Foam of the mouth came from him.[He foamed at the mouth.]
- (A17) <d23.2> [pr _-pt]
utukutu wa kitoto unamwenda
 Childish exuberance left him.
- (A18) <d24.3> [pr _-pt]
Kijasho kilikuwa kikimkatika.
 Sweat which was coming from him.
- (A19) <d27.8> [pr _-pt]
 sasa jitimai limemvaa.
 Now grief had enveloped him.
- (A20) <d28.7> [pr _-pt]
midomo inamcheza.
 [His] lips trembled.
- (A21) <d29.7> [pr _-pt]
Damu imemwiva
 His eyes were bloodshot (lit. His blood was ripe).
- (A22) <d29.7> [pr _-pt mnr]
Uso umemharibika vibaya vibaya
 His face was badly marred.
- (A23) <d30.6> [pr _-pt]
 lakini chozi halikumtiririka
 But tears did not trickle from her [eyes].
- (A24) <d38.12> [pr _-pt]
Kijasho kinanitoka.
 I am sweating.
- (A25) <d38.13> [pr _-pt mnr]
Kijasho kinakutoka kwa ndugu zako
 sweat is coming from you for your brother
- (A26) <d39.1> [_-pt <pr>]
Kisinitoke [kijasho]?
 Why should'nt I sweat?
- (A27) <d41.1> [pr _-pt]
[dukuduku] liliganda katika nafsi yake na kumkereketa
 [Doubt] stuck in his mind and irritated him.
- (A28) <d42.2> [pr _-pt]
[kanzu] pindi lililomzidi kimo
 [The gown] which was loose on him/ too big for him.
- (A29) <d42.2> [pr _-pt]
[suruali] lilipomteremka na kumghasi.
 When [his trousers] descended and embarrassed him.
- (A30) <d46.5> [pr _-pt]
Hasira zimemcheza
 Anger made him tremble.

- (A31) <d54.3> [pr _-pt]
Jicho linamwaka,
 His eyes flamed.
- (A32) <d54.3> [pr _-pt]
masikio yamemparama, pumzi zinamfoka, malaika yamemsimama
 His ears were closed, his breath was rapid, his body hair stood on edge.
- (A33) <d58.13> [pr _-pt pl/l]
Jitimai limemvaa katika kiza cha kusahauliwa.
 Grief had clothed him in the darkness/gloom of forgetfulness.
- (A34) <d61.5> [pr _-pt]
 sasa alisema kama vile ulevi umemruka
 Now he talked as if drunkenness had erupted in him.
- (A35) <d63.2> [_-pt <pr>]
ilimtoka sauti.
 His voice came out.
- (A36) <d64.3> [pr _-pt]
[kikohozi] akaona kama kinamsimanga.
 He realised that [the cough] it was triumphing over her.
- (A37) <d64.7> [pr _-pt]
komo limemkoboka
 Her forehead had sunk.
- (A38) <d67.2> [pr _-pt]
midomo ilimtetemeka
 His lips trembled.
- (A39) <d70.7> [pr _-pt mnr]
Mawazo haya yalimwenda mbiombio
 These thoughts came and went quickly.
- (A40) <d83.19> [pr _-pt]
hofu imemvaa.
 Fear had seized him.
- (A41) <d85.5> [pr _-pt]
Kijasho kinamkatika
 She is sweating.
- (A42) <d85.6> [pr _-pt]
 na wasiwasi umemjaa
 She was filled with worry.
- (A43) <d86.14> [pr _-pt]
pumzi nzito zilimfoka
 She panted heavily.
- (A44) <d86.14> [pr _-pt]
 na machozi yakamlengalenga
 And her eyes were filled with tears.
- (A45) <d87.4> [pr _-pt]
hofu ilimweza ikamkumba
 Fear got the better of her and jostled her.
- (A46) <d92.1> [pr _-pt mnr]
Fikra zilimbubujika kama chemchem.
 [His thoughts] overflowed like a fountain.

- (A47) <d92.1> [pr _-pt]
joto lilimpanda
 His temperature rose. (he felt hot all over) [he didn't know what from]
- (A48) <d92.1> [pr _-pt]
Uso ulimchonota
 His face smarted.
- (A49) <d92.1> [pr _-pt]
machozi yalimlengalenga
 Tears filled his eyes.
- (A50) <d92.1> [pr _-pt]
midomo ikaanza kumtetemeka
 His lips started trembling.
- (A51) <d92.1> [pr _-pt mnr]
Machozi yakampita njia mbilimbili
 Tears came out of his eyes in two paths.
- (A52) <d100.8> [pr _-pt]
 hata hivyo shaka ilimvaa
 Even so doubt enveloped him.
- (A53) <d100.13> [pr _-pt]
moyo ulimpiga
 His heart beat.
- (A54) <d103.5> [pr _-pt]
Fikra ziliwachemka.
 Their thoughts boiled.
- (A55) <d107.6> [pr _-pt cs/k]
 hata macho yamenivimba kwa mume wangu.
 My eyes are even swollen because of my husband.
- (A56) <d111.5> [pr _-pt]
nyuso zimewaparama
 Their faces were expressionless.
- (A57) <d120.1> [pr _-pt]
Damu ilimchemka
 Her blood boiled.
- (A58) <d120.1> [pr _-pt]
malaika yalimsimama
 Her body hairs stood on edge.
- (A59) <d120.4> [pr _-pt]
Mughma umemvaa.
 Grief enveloped him.
- (A60) <d120.4> [pr _-pt]
kijasho kinamkatika
 He was sweating.
- (A61) <d120.4> [pr _-pt]
malaika yamemsimama
 His body hairs stood on edge.
- (A62) <d120.4> [pr _-pt mnr]
moyo unamwenda mbio
 His heart beat fast.

- (A63) <d120.4> [pr _-pt]
 na huzuni ya msiba iliyomjaa tele sasa
 With the sorrow of the event which so filled him now.
- (A64) <ny2.5> [pr _-pt]
fikra mwafaka ilikuja kumtanzua
 A good idea unfolded itself to him.
- (A65) <ny9.1> [pr _-pt]
 huku mikono ikimtetemeka
 While his hands trembled.
- (A66) <ny18.3> [pr _-pt mnr]
roho ikimwenda mbio
 Her heart was beating fast. [Fuad has come to announce he has taken a
 second wife]
- (A67) <ny26.3> [pr _-pt]
nguvu zikamwisha
 Her strength was exhausted.
- (A68) <ny26.6> [pr _-pt]
maumivu yaliongeza kumkeketa
 [When his fear lessened its grip], the pain increased its pressure.
- (A69) <ny44.3> [pr _-pt]
joto likimpanda
 Emotions rose high (lit. heat climbed her)
- (A70) <ny52.5> [pr _-pt]
hasira isiyo na faida yo yote ilimpanda
 An anger which had no cause at all came upon her. (to see how her hair was
 knotted)
- (A71) <ny63.9> [pr _-pt]
 halafu tena kuangusha macho yake katika mwili wake kuitazama kanzu
ilivyomkaa
 Then again she lowered her eyes on her body to look at how the gown suited
 her. (she was looking into mirror)
- (A72) <ny67.9> [pr _-pt]
 kila mmoja wao rangi ya mdomo imemkoza
 Everyone of them had on lipstick. (lit. colour of lips was dark on them)
- (A73) <ny72.2> [pr _-pt mnr]
 Kila mara aliwaona na aliwasikia, damu ikamwenda mbio, moyo ukampiga
 Everytime she saw and heard them (making love), her blood raced and her
 heart thumped.
- (A74) <ny72.2> [pr _-pt]
moyo ukampiga
 Her heart was beating.
- (A75) <ny73.6> [pr _-pt]
 na pumzi zilimpaa
 And her breath rose (in anticipation).
- (A76) <ny84.5> [pr _-pt]
 kwani nguvu za kusemea zikimwisha
 The energy to speak left her.

- (A77) <ny84.5> [pr _-pt]
 na machizi yakimlenga.
 And tears were bursting out (of her eyes).
- (A78) <ny111.3> [pr _-pt]
hofu ilimshika
 Fear got hold of her (she had discovered she was pregnant).
- (A79) <ny134.2> [pr _-pt]
pumzi zimempaa
 Her breath was rising.
- (A80) <ny150.7> [pr _-pt pr*/p]
 tone za machizi zikimtiririka katika peto za uso wake
 Drops of tears trickled into the wrinkles (lit. folds) of her face.
- (A81) <ny154.3> [pr _-pt]
 Rehema akiangalia pumzi zimempaa
 Rehema watched with bated breath (hoping Sulubu could distract baby from hunger). (lit. breath was climbing her)
- (A82) <ny163.2> [pr _-pt]
 Salma kapuuka, nywele zimemtinka
 Salma had lost weight, her hair was ruffled.
- (A83) <s27.3> [pr Cs -pt]
 ingawa ulimi ulikuwa unamwasha
 Although he was dying to say something (lit. his tongue was alight)
- (A84) <s28.1> [pr _-pt]
 wakisikiliza kila neni linalomdondoka.
 Listening to every word that dripped from her.
- (A85) <s30.3> [pr _-pt mnr]
moyo unan'enda shindo
 My heart was beating violently.
- (A86) <s38.2> [pr _-pt]
 huku machizi yanamlengalenga
 She pleaded - tears forming in her eyes.
- (A87) <s49.5> [pr _-pt]
 Najum huku nje moyo ulimdunda
 Najum waiting outside his heart beating
- (A88) <s49.5> [pr _-pt]
roho ilimruka,
 His heart leapt anxiously (with the thought...)
- (A89) <s75.5> [pr _-pt]
wasiwasi umemwingia mtawalia
 Anxiety had entered him continuously
- (A90) <s110.2> [pr _-pt]
 [fikra] imemkaa na roho
 (The thought of throwing the blame on Saidi) suited his mind
- (A91) <u1.5> [pr _-pt]
kanzu zinavyomchukua
 How her gown suited her. (lit. taken her)
- (A92) <u3.2> [pr _-pt]
 huku kumbimbi za ubataani zimemsimama.
 With pimples of self indulgence standing out.

- (A93) <u8.13> [pr _-pt]
akili zimekuruka
 You are out of your mind.
- (A94) <u9.19> [pr _-pt mnr]
Moyo ulimwenda mbio.
 His heart beat fast.
- (A95) <u11.7> [pr _-pt]
Kijasho kikamchururika
 Sweat was dripping from him
- (A96) <u12.9> [pr _-pt tm/k]
Nadhari iliyokuwa imempotea kwa muda mrefu taratibu ilimreja
 His senses which he lost for a long time returned to him gradually
- (A97) <u12.9> [pr _-pt]
nafsi yake ilimshawishi kufanya jambo
 He was convinced in his mind to do something
- (A98) <u12.9> [pr _-pt]
Hamasa zilimchemka
 Anger boiled in him
- (A99) <u13.1> [pr _-pt]
Damu ilimpanda na kumshuka.
 His blood rose and fell (lit. climbed and descended)
- (A100) <u13.1> [pr _-pt]
Ulevi umemruka.
 Drunkenness had gone out of him (lit. jumped out of him)
- (A101) <u13.2> [pr _-pt]
miguu ilimnyong'onyea.
 His legs were weakened
- (A102) <u14.5> [pr _-pt]
alihisi maumivu yanampanda.
 He felt pains surging in him
- (A103) <u14.5> [pr _-pt]
Damu ilikuwa ikimtoka.
 He was bleeding (lit. blood was coming out of him)
- (A104) <u14.5> [pr _-pt]
Mussa alikoroma, kipovu kikamtoka.
 Mussa croaked, foam escaped him (as he was being throttled by Maksuudi).
- (A105) <u15.4> [pr _-pt]
alicheka mpaka machozi yakamtiririka.
 She laughed until tears trickled (from her)
- (A106) <u23.3> [pr _-pt]
na baadhi ya wakati moyo ulimzaini
 And sometimes her heart tempted her (to assert her independence).
- (A107) <u30.2> [pr _-pt]
Ghadhabu zilimpanda.
 Rage surged in her.
- (A108) <u30.5> [pr _-pt]
Lakini makupekupe ya uzee bado hayajamvaa
 But the symptoms of old age had not enveloped her

- (A109) <u35.17> [pr _-pt]
macho yakamwiva
 Her eyes had become red (lit. ripe).
- (A110) <u38.5> [pr _-pt]
mwili wote ulimtetemeka.
 Her whole body trembled
- (A111) <u43.4> [pr _-pt]
kijasho chembamba kilimtoka.
 He sweated lightly (lit. a thin sweat came from him)
- (A112) <u43.4> [pr _-pt]
damu ikamchemka.
 His blood was boiling
- (A113) <u45.4> [pr _-pt]
Damu ilimruka,
 Her blood surged
- (A114) <u46.1> [pr _-pt]
Baridi nyembamba ilimvaa
 a light coldness enveloped her
- (A115) <u46.1> [pr _-pt]
Hofu kubwa na kiwewe kilimjaa
 She was filled with a great fear and confusion (lit. a great fear and confusion filled her)
- (A116) <u46.2> [pr _-pt]
Mori na pumzi moto zikimwenda
 Anger and a hot breath came into him
- (A117) <u46.2> [pr _-pt mnr]
Macho yalimtoka pima nzima
 His eyes stood out a mile (lit. a whole fathom=2 yards)
- (A118) <u47.7> [pr _-pt]
Damu ilikuwa ikimchururika.
 Blood was trickling from her
- (A119) <u49.2> [pr _-pt]
Macho yalikuwa yamemwiva.
 His eyes were red (lit. ripe)
- (A120) <u52.5> [pr _-pt mnr]
jicho linamwenda duru,
 Her eyes went round
- (A121) <u52.5> [pr _-pt]
malaika yamemsimama
 Her body hairs stood on edge
- (A122) <u52.5> [pr _-pt]
midomo inamtetemeka
 Her lips trembled
- (A123) <u56.4> [pr _-pt]
Moyo unamtuta
 Her heart thumped.
- (A124) <u56.5> [pr _-pt]
nywele zimemtimka,
 Her hair was ruffled.

- (A125) <u56.9> [pr _-pt]
Mikono na miguu ilikuwa ikimtetemeka.
 Her arms and legs were trembling.
- (A126) <u56.9> [pr _-pt]
Mwili mzima ulikuwa unamcheza
 Her whole body was shuddering.
- (A127) <u59.2> [pr _-pt]
 Akampiga mpaka damu zikamchururika.
 He beat her until blood was dribbling down.
- (A128) <u67.5> [pr _-pt]
Jasho liliwachururika
 The sweat streamed from them.
- (A129) <u69.1> [pr _-pt mnr]
 Bila ya kizuizi [machizi] yalimdongoka na kutiririka kama mfereji
 With nothing to stop them, (her tears) dripped and trickled away like a tap.
- (A130) <u79.11> [pr _-pt]
bashasha zinamfufurika
 and joviality overflowing (lit. revived him)
- (A131) <u80.2> [pr _-pt]
moyo ulimtibuka
 His heart was in turmoil (at poor reception of his speech)
- (A132) <u85.2> [pr _-pt]
 Huku kidogo kidogo akizuia kekefu za kilio zilizokuwa zikimpanda
 And gradually (lit. little by little) she controlled the hiccuping cry which
 surged (mounted) within her.
- (A133) <u86.3> [pr _-pt]
Chozi linamtiririka.
 Tears trickled from her .
- (A134) <u95.4> [pr _-pt]
 Alicheka kwa muda mpaka machizi yakampita.
 She laughed for some time until tears streamed down (passed).
- (A135) <u95.8> [pr _-pt]
usingizi utapomvaa
 when sleep enveloped her.
- (A136) <u109.4> [pr _-pt]
Mwili ulimtetemeka
 His body trembled.
- (A137) <u109.4> [pr _-pt mnr]
Moyo ulimwenda mbio
 His heart beat fast.
- (A138) <u117.1> [th _-pt]
Desturi hiyo ilimvaa na kumwia tabia toka alipofululiza kwenda senema.
 This habit [of doing her household chores] became a habit for her since she
 started going to the cinema continuously.
- (A139) <u124.9> [pr _-pt]
 Alikuwa anatetemeka na machizi yanamtoka.
 He was trembling and shedding tears (tears came out of him).

- (A140) <u128.5> [pr _-pt]
 ...lakini maumivu makali yalimzuia
 ...but the severe pains prevented him.
- (A141) <u128.7> [pr _-pt]
 Sasa [raha] zimempotea
 Now they (his favourite pleasures) are lost to him.
- (A142) <u132.1> [pr _-pt]
Pumzi zilimfoka
 she was panting.
- (A143) <u132.1> [pr _-pt]
Pumzi zimemwisha.
 Her breath was exhausted.
- (A144) <u132.1> [pr _-pt nstr]
Mwili umemnyong'onyea kwa hofu na machofu
 Her body was weary with fear and fatigue
- (A145) <u133.2> [pr _-pt]
Machozi yalimtiririka
 Tears trickled from her.
- (A146) <u133.14> [pr _-pt mnr]
Moyo ulikuwa ukimwenda mbio
 Her heart was beating (going) fast.
- (A147) <u134.1> [pr _-pt]
 Macho pia yalikuwa mazito, kumhakikishia kuwa usingizi haujamwisha.
 Her eyes were also heavy, and assured her that sleep had not finished with her.
- (A148) <u143.4> [pr _-pt]
Jicho pima lilimtoka.
 A glare escaped her.
- (A149) <u143.4> [pr _-pt]
Kifua kilimpanda na kumshuka
 Her chest rose and fell.
- (A150) <u143.4> [pr _-pt]
Damu ilimchiririka
 Blood trickled from her./ She was bleeding.
- (A151) <u144.6> [pr _-pt]
hisia zilimpotea.
 she lost her senses (lit. her feelings lost her)
- (A152) <u145.6> [pr _-pt]
 mbona damu inakuchururika?
 Why are you bleeding?
- (A153) <u154.12> [th _-pt]
Imani ilimchoma
 Faith pricked/burned him.
- (A154) <u155.5> [pr _-pt]
Moyo ulimpiga
 Her heart was beating.
- (A155) <u155.6> [pr _-pt]
midomo ilimtetemeka.
 His lips trembled.

- (A156) <u157.7> [pr _-pt]
Moyo ulimpapa na pumzi zilimjaa kifua tele
 Her heart was fluttering and breath filled her chest to the brim.
- (A157) <u160.6> [pr _-pt mnr]
moyo ulimwenda mbio.
 His heart was beating fast.
- (A158) <u161.12> [pr _-pt]
Machozi yalimtiririka tena,
 Tears streamed down again.
- (A159) <u166.4> [pr _-pt]
mshangao uliompata,
 The astonishment which seized her.
- (A160) <u166.4> [pr _-pt]
 na hamasa zilizokuwa zikimfoforeka.
 The anger that was seething in her. [?]
- (A161) <u169.3> [pr _-pt]
Sura ilikuwa imembadilika
 Her countenance had changed.
- (A162) <u172.2> [pr _-pt]
Damu ilimwiva
 Her blood regained its vigour.
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- Intransitive affective with explicit patient*
- (A163) <d67.1> [pr _-pt pt]
 Ile hofu iliyokuwa imemwandama Pandu,
 That fear had dogged Pandu.
- (A164) <d100.10> [pr Ap -pt pt]
mawazo yaliyompitikia Mzee Gae
 the thoughts that preoccupied Mzee Gae.
- (A165) <u11.10> [pr _-pt pt]
 Mchanganyiko wa mori, hofu na ari ya kidume ulimtikisa Mussa mzima
 mzima
 A mixture of anger, fear and shame of the male disturbed Mussa entirely
- (A166) <u43.6> [pr _-pt pt]
hofu na wahka umemvaa kila mtu.
 Fear and uncertainty enveloped everybody
- (A167) <u59.3> [pr _-pt pt]
Chozi lilimtiririka Farashuu
 Tears trickled down Farashuu.
- (A168) <u108.6> [pr _-pt pt]
 Huku mikono ikimtetemeka Maksuudi
 Maksuudi's hands were trembling.
- (A169) <u133.12> [pr _-pt pt]
Huzuni ilitunga babaake
 Her father became plaintive

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Intransitive affective with topicalised patient

- (A170) <d8.2> [pt, pr _-pt]
 Fumu sasa woga umemtoka.
 Now fear had gone out of Fumu.
- (A171) <d8.2> [pt, _-pt <pr>]
 Fumu moyo ulimgota
 Fumu's heart was drumming.
- (A172) <d8.2> [pt, pr _-pt]
 Fauz sasa malaika yamemsimama
 Fauz's body hairs stood on edge.
- (A173) <d9.1> [pt, pr _-pt]
 Fauz yalimkwama maneno
 Fauz was stuck for words.
- (A174) <d22.1> [pt, pr _-pt]
 Na sasa Fumu mwili ulimtetemeka
 And now Fumu's body trembled.
- (A175) <d27.10> [pt, pr _-pt]
 Bi Mtumwa, nywele zimentimka, jicho limemwiva, kanga zinamporomoka
 Bi Mtumwa her hair ruffled, her eyes red, her cloth slipping off
- (A176) <d29.5> [pt, pr _-pt]
 Bi Mtumwa moyo ulimgutuka
 Bi Mtumwa's heart was startled.
- (A177) <d37.6> [pt, _-pt <pr>]
 Na Bakari naye kilimpenya kicheko asichokikusudia
 And Bakari, laughter which he did not intend pierced through him.
- (A178) <d49.2> [pt, _-pt <pr>]
 Bakari ulimpiga moyo na Shomari ilimchemka damu
 Bakri's heart beat and Shomari's blood boiled.
- (A179) <d54.1> [pt, pr _-pt]
 Faki moyo unampiga,
 Faki's heart is beating.
- (A180) <d54.3> [pt, pr _-pt]
 Mbwana moyo ulimpiga beni.
 Mbwana's heart was drumming.
- (A181) <d67.14> [pt, pr _-pt]
 sasa Pandu chozi linampita.
 Now a tear escaped Pandu.
- (A182) <d93.1> [pt, Ap -pt <pr*> mnr]
 Ndipo hatimaye Fumu zilipomjia akili zake majimaji.
 That is when Fumu's mind went faint.
- (A183) <d100.8> [pt, pr _-pt]
 Hapo hapo Mzee Gae moyo ulimgutuka
 There and then Mzee Gae's heart was startled.
- (A184) <d101.4> [pt, pr _-pt mnr]
 Naye moyo ulimpiga kidogo
 And him his heart beat a little.

- (A185) <d105.4> [pt, pr _-pt]
Wote masikio yaliwapaa
All their ears pricked up.
- (A186) <ny48.6> [pt, pr Cs -pt]
yeye tumbo likimwendesha
He was having diarrhoea. (lit. His stomach was making him go)
- (A187) <ny58.1> [pt, pr _-pt]
Ruzuna kifua kilimbana
Ruzuna's chest was congested.
- (A188) <ny119.2> [pt, pr Ap -pt]
Rehema nguvu zilikuwa zimemwishia
Rehema's strength was exhausted.
- (A189) <u11.7> [pt, pr _-pt]
Mussa baridi ya woga ilimshika na kitetemeshi kilimjaa
A cold fear got hold of Mussa and trembling filled him
- (A190) <u12.3> [pt, pr _-pt]
Kazija jasho lilimkatika
Kazija sweated (lit. sweat cut her)
- (A191) <u14.5> [pt, pr _-pt]
Maksuudi hamaki zimempanda
Anger surged in Maksuudi
- (A192) <u20.2> [pt, pr _-pt]
Maimuna, binti yake, chozi linamtiririka
Maimuna, his daughter, tears trickled (from her)
- (A193) <u25.6> [pt, pr _-pt]
wote michirizi ya machizi inawapita.
Both of them have streams of tears coming from them (describing statue) (lit. passed them)
- (A194) <u30.2> [pt, pr _-pt mnr]
Farashuu moyo ulimwenda mbio.
Farashuu's heart beat fast (lit. go fast)
- (A195) <u31.5> [pt, pr _-pt]
Farashuu hamu ilimwenda
Passion entered (lit. went) Farashuu
- (A196) <u38.7> [pt, pr _-pt]
Maimuna machizi yalimpokonyoka, hakuwa na kizuizi
As for Maimuna, tears were forced their way out (of her eyes), she had no control (over them)
- (A197) <u46.5> [pt, pr _-pt]
Tamima chozi lilimdondoka
Tears dripped from Tamima
- (A198) <u49.3> [pt, pr _-pt]
Kocho jicho la chuki lilikuwa linamwenda.
A look (lit. eye) of hatred came into Kocho
- (A199) <u72.3> [pt, pr _-pt]
Inspekta Fadhili moyo ulimgutuka,
Inspector Fadhili was startled (his heart jumped).

- (A200) <u75.2> [pt, pr _-pt]
 Maksuudi hamaki zilikwisha anza kumpanda.
 Temper had begun to mount in Maksuudi.
- (A201) <u86.2> [pt, pr _-pt mnr]
 Maimuna [machozi] yake yalimpita njia mbili mbili
 Maimuna's [tears] trickled (lit. pass) in two streams.
- (A202) <u123.13> [pt, pr _-pt]
 Maksuudi moyo ulimpapa.
 Maksuudi's heart throbbed.
- (A203) <u164.8> [pt, pr Cs -pt]
 Kabi hamu ilimwasha,
 Kabi was fired with enthusiasm.
- (A204) <u169.4> [pt, pr _-pt mnr]
 Maimuna moyo ulimpiga kwa nguvu
 Maimuna's heart was thumping.
- (A205) <u169.4> [pt, pr _-pt]
 Kabi damu ilimkauka.
 Kabi's blood ran dry.
- (A206) <u173.9> [pt, pr _-pt]
 Maimuna moyo ulimpiga kwani hiyo gari ilipokuwa ikikaribia aliitambua.
 Maimuna's heart beat because she recognised the car which was drawing near.
- (A207) <u174.10> [pt, pr Ap -pt]
 naye milizamu ya machozi ikimpitia.
 As the sluice-gate of tears reached her too.
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- Intransitive affective: passive inversion*
- (A208) <d22.2> [pt Ps pr/n]
alipoishiwa na nguvu
 ...until his strength came to an end.
- (A209) <d41.11> [pt Ps pr*/n]
 kila mmoja akisongwa na mawazo yake
 Everyone was pressed by their thoughts.
- (A210) <d49.15> [pt Ps pr/n]
 Shomari alikuwa kafumwa na wazo la uchafu.
 Shomari was seized by distasteful thoughts.
- (A211) <d104.1> [pt Ps pr/n]
 Jamaa wote waliinua vichwa vyao na kupigwa na mshangao.
 All the audience lifted up their heads and were dumbfounded / taken aback.
- (A212) <d118.5> [pt Ps pr/n]
 wengi walianza kuingiwa na hofu.
 Many began to be entered by fear.
- (A213) <ny2.5> [pt Ps pr/n]
 Fuad alichukuliwa na fadhaa
 Fuad was confused [taken in by confusion].
- (A214) <ny18.5> [pt Ps pr/n]
hakurukwa na akili
 She did not go out of her mind. (lit she was not jumped by her mind.)

- (A215) <ny116.6> [pt Ps th/n]
 kama aliyepigwa na fadhaa
 Like someone in a flummox (Simba reacts to her bad ministrations).
- (A216) <ny118.6> [pt Ps pr/n]
 Rehema alipitiwa kwa ghafula na wimbi la maumivu
 Rehema was stricken by a sudden wave of pain (in labour).
- (A217) <ny125.8> [pt Ps pr/n]
 Na anapoleta, huwa kashikwa na haja
 And when he sends one [letter] it is usually because he is in need.
- (A218) <ny144.1> [pt Ps th/n]
 alimwona kapigwa na bumbuazi
 She saw that he was dumb struck (Sulubu at court proceedings).
- (A219) <ny150.7> [pt Ps th/n]
 Aliingiwa na imani
 She gained confidence. (lit. was entered by confidence)
- (A220) <s30.4> [pt Ps pr/n]
 na nimepigwa na butaa
 I was overcome with bewilderment.
- (A221) <s31.4> [pt Ps pr/n]
 tena nilipandwa na hamaki
 Then I was filled (lit. mounted) with anger.
- (A222) <s70.1> [pt Ps pr/n]
 kama mtu mwenye kushikwa na wahaka
 Like a person in the grip of uncertainty.
- (A223) <u2.2> [pt Ps pr/n]
alipigwa na mshangao
 she was astonished.
- (A224) <u12.9> [pt Ps pr/n pr/l]
 Mussa alifumwa na uchungu moyoni
 Mussa was bound with bitterness in his heart
- (A225) <u38.5> [pt Ps pr/n]
 Maimuna alibaki kutetemekwa na midomo, pua, mboni, nyusi, kope,
mikono, miguu
 Maimuna's lips, nose, eye ball, eye lash, eye brows, hands, legs continued to tremble
- (A226) <u88.3> [pt Ps pr/n]
 Maimuna alikumbwa na woga na jitimai
 Maimuna was attacked by fear and grief.
- (A227) <u91.4> [pt Ps pr/n]
akasisimkwa na mwili.
 She had goose flesh on her body.
- (A228) <u91.7> [pt Ps pr/n]
Akachichimkwa tena na mwili.
 Again she had goose flesh.
- (A229) <u147.1> [pt Ps pr/n]
 Na zaidi alisikitishwa na nafsi yake
 And moreover she was saddened by her heart (persona).

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Intransitive affective: passive inversion (locative variant)

- (A230) <d97.1> [pt Ps pr/l]
Alikerwa moyoni
 He was pricked in his heart.

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Intransitive affective: passive inversion (without na)

- (A231) <d45.6> [pt Ps pr]
 alinguruma Bakari aliyekwisha guswa na kupandishwa hamaki.
 ...growled Bakari, whose anger had been finally touched off and inflamed.
- (A232) <d104.4> [pt Ps pr]
 Jamaa walipigwa mshangao mwengine.
 The audience were astonished again.
- (A233) <ny76.2> [pt Ps pr]
 na huku ameshikwa mkono
 (She would follow) led by the hand.
- (A234) <u3.1> [pt Ps pr]
 Hakua mtu wa kuvunjwa moyo
 He was not one to be discouraged (to be heart broken)

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Intransitive affective: active inversion

- (A235) <d22.5> [pt _ pr]
 Ng'ombe alikuwa akifoka pumzi
 The cow was panting.
- (A236) <d58.7> [pt _ pr]
 yeyote asiyetoka jasho
 Anyone who doesn't sweat.
- (A237) <d84.3> [pt _ pr/l]
 Mara nyingi Sakina alipodharauliwa na Farouk aliungulika moyoni
 Very often when Sakina was scorned by Farouk she took it to heart.
- (A238) <d90.1> [pt _-pr pr*]
 atakwenda tata mpaka ataiweza miguu yake
 [After holding on to walls, the toddler] will go in starts until it is able to
 stand on its own legs (lit. it is capable as to its legs).
- (A239) <d102.1> [pt _ pr]
 Bakari aliona anabubuja maneno yaliyomganda kichwani
 Bakari saw he was bubbling out words which were set in his head.
- (A240) <d103.4> [pt _ pr]
 hata wengine kati yetu kupoteza roho
 [or] even make some of us lose our lives.
- (A241) <d120.1> [pt _ pr]
 alitoa macho
 Her eyes bulged.
- (A242) <ny7.2> [pt _ pr]
aliuma kidole
 she hurt her finger.
- (A243) <ny7.3> [pt _ pr]
 ambaye alikuwa kabalehe mwili tu si akili
 [Fuad] who was mature physically (lit. in body) but not in the mind.

- (A244) <ny12.1> [pt Cs pr*]
 mashujaa wapoteze nguvu zao
 [Love makes] the brave lose their strength.
- (A245) <ny126.3> [pt _ pr mnr]
 sasa alivunjika moyo kabisa kabisa kwa maneno ya mama yake
 Now her heart was totally broken because of the words of her mother.
- (A246) <ny147.4> [pt _ pr mnr]
 juu ya hivyo hakuvunjika moyo kabisa kabisa.
 Despite all this she did not lose heart completely. (lit. she was not broken her heart)
- (A247) <s9.1> [pt _ pr]
amechoka kiwiliwili na akili.
 He was tired in body and mind.
- (A248) <s9.2> [pt _ pr]
 na aliweza kusimama mahali pamoja kwa muda wa saa sita bila kutetemeka miguu
 He was able to stand in one place for a period of six hours without his legs trembling.
- (A249) <s30.3> [pt _ pr mnr]
 Labda baba'angu mas'skini kaharibika akili ghafla
 Perhaps my poor father's mind was destroyed suddenly.
- (A250) <u98.5> [pt _ pr [V=bv]]
 Sasa amejaa majuto na ghadhabu
 Now she was filled with remorse and rage.
- (A251) <u103.1> [pt _ pr/l]
Aliumia moyoni
 He was hurt in his heart.
- (A252) <u126.2> [ag Cs pr* pr]
 lakini Makuudi alikuwa akilovya kifua chake machizi.
 But Makuudi was wetting his chest with tears.
- (A253) <u128.2> [pr/l, pt _ pr]
Kichwani kapata jeraha kubwa
 He got a big wound on his head.
- (A254) <u133.14> [pt _ pr pr:ext]
karoa jasho mwili mzima.
 Her whole body was wet with sweat.
- (A255) <u144.3> [pt _ pr]
 Makuudi kasita miguu
 Makuudi hesitated (lit he hesitated his leg).
- (A256) <u152.4> [pt _ pr*/l]
 Kwa hivyo alichangamka moyoni mwake
 therefore she brightened up in her heart.
- (A257) <u155.1> [pt Cs pr*]
 Kabi kumbe alikuwa kapoteza mguu wake wa kushoto.
 Lo Kabi had lost his left leg.
- (A258) <u163.3> [pt Cs pr*]
nimepoteza mguu wangu wa pili kwa kumuokoa mamaangu
 I lost my second leg (now amputated) in rescuing my mother.

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Affective related constructions with patient implicit

- (A259) <D1.3> [pr Rc]
 maumivu ya jeraha la mguu lililovundiana
 The pains of the ulcer on his leg which was stinking.
- (A260) <d4.1> [pr _]
[mguu] na bado uliendelea kupwita
 His leg was still throbbing.
- (A261) <d28.7> [pr _ idph]
Macho yanapwesapwesa, kupe, kupe
 [His] eyes were twitching twitter twitter.
- (A262) <d28.7> [pr _]
Pua inapwitapwita
 [His] nose is throbbing.
- (A263) <d57.10> [pr _ mnr]
 Chubwi za macho yake zinakwenda mbio kama dira
 Her eye balls moved fast like a mariner's compass.
- (A264) <d61.2> [pr _ pl/l]
denda likampita kwenye mapengo yake likadondoka chini.
 Saliva passed through the gaps between her teeth and dripped down.
- (A265) <d64.7> [pr _ pl/l]
 na macho yametumbukia ndani,
 And her eyes were sucked inward.
- (A266) <d64.7> [pr _ pl/l]
mdomo umetumbukia ndani
 Her mouth was sucked inward.
- (A267) <d64.7> [pr _]
 kidevu kiko juu ya mashimo ya mashavu yaliyotumbukia
 Her chin stood out over the hollows of her sunken cheeks.
- (A268) <d64.7> [pr _]
ngozi imekunjamana
 Her skin was wrinkled.
- (A269) <d65.1> [pr _ mnr]
 kifua chake, mbavu tupu zilizostawi, zinapanda na kushuka mbiombio.
 Her chest [was] bare ribs standing out prominently, which rose and fell rapidly.
- (A270) <d66.3> [pr _ mnr]
 na machozi yakatiririka ovyo
 And tears trickled without restriction.
- (A271) <d68.4> [pr _ mnr]
Pumzi zilipanda na kushuka mbiombio zaidi
 Her breath rose and fell more quickly.
- (A272) <d68.8> [pr _]
mbavu zilipanda na kushuka,
 Her ribs rose and fell.
- (A273) <d85.1> [pr _]
uso haujakunjuka.
 His face did not frown.

- (A274) <d92.1> [pr _ mnr]
 Damu ilikuwenda kuliko desturi
 His blood [heart] surged faster than normal.
- (A275) <d92.1> [pr _]
mkono ukatetemeka
 His hand trembled.
- (A276) <d92.1> [pr _]
 Lakini sauti haikutoka
 But his voice did not come out.
- (A277) <d102.1> [pr _ mnr]
maneno yaliyotiririka kwa urahisi wa kufahamika
 Words which trickled out in a way easy to understand.
- (A278) <ny18.5> [th _ pr]
 katika kichwa chake mlipiga mchemu ulioanguka mwili mzima na kuufanya
 upooze
 (On her head there had been struck a blow (lit. crowbar)) which had fallen on
 her whole body and made it freeze.
- (A279) <ny19.2> [pr _]
 na kumtazama mama yake kwa macho yaliyoiva
 And looked at her mother with eyes which were red. (lit. ripe)
- (A280) <ny67.9> [pr _ pl]
 na kanzu ya mwavuli imechanua chini ya magoti
 And the panelled dress was flared beneath their knees.
- (A281) <ny85.3> [pr _]
 huku akitazama kwa macho yaliyoloa
 As she looked with wet eyes.
- (A282) <ny89.8> [pr _]
Roho haikukinai
 Her heart was not satisfied.
- (A283) <ny95.4> [pr _]
huzuni ilianguka
 Sadness came upon (lit. fell) (her housemates as they realised Rehema was
 really leaving).
- (A284) <ny102.7> [pr _]
 huku akishusha pumzi na roho ikirudi
 And recovering her composure (lit. her heart returning).
- (A285) <ny126.5> [pr _ mnr]
Kichwa kinauma kidogo
 (My) head is hurting a little (I've got a small headache).
- (A286) <ny143.2> [pr _]
 aligeuka kumtazama yule kijana jamali kwa macho yaliyoiva
 He turned to look at the elegant youth with angry eyes. (lit. ripe)
- (A287) <ny167.2> [pr _]
 Ndipo Rehema alipoona ishara zenye kutisha katika uso ulioparama wa
 Kapepo
 That is when Rehema when she saw the terrifying signs of fright in the
 misshapen face of [the dog] Kapepo.

- (A288) <s90.1> [pr _]
kichwa na nusu ya kiwiliwili chake vimezama
 His head and half his body had sunk (in the crater)
- (A289) <u25.1> [pr _]
macho yanaduruduru, kushoto, kulia, juu, chini
 Her eyes went round, left, right, up, down
- (A290) <u93.10> [pt, pr _]
 Maimuna macho yaliduruduru
 Maimuna's eyes went round and round.
- (A291) <u124.12> [pr _]
 na macho yanasinzia
 Her eyes sleepy.
- (A292) <u126.1> [_ <pr>]
Yakacheza mabega.
 Her shoulders danced/shook.
- (A293) <u126.1> [_ <pr>]
Ikakatika shingo, kichwa ... vyote vilicheza kama ngoma ilivyoamrisha.
 Her neck swayed, her head [swayed] ... everything moved as the music dictated.
- (A294) <u153.4> [pr _ mnr]
Nywele zimetimka ovyo na kuufanya uso wake uparame
 Her hair was ruffled untidily and made her face bare.
- (A295) <u156.5> [pr <pt> _]
Machozi Maimuna yalianza kulengalenga,
 Tears begun to fill Maimuna's eyes.
- (A296) <u174.5> [pr _ mnr]
machozi yakibubujika kama chemchem.
 tears bubbled like a spring
- =====
- Affective related constructions with patient implicit and locative property*
- (A297) <D2.1> [th _ pr*/l]
 mtazamo wa usingizi uliokuwa bado umesharabu kwenye macho yake
 A sleepy look was still visible in his eyes.
- (A298) <d65.1> [pr _ pr/l]
 [Ile kaniki] ilikuwa imeporomoka hadi tumboni
 [that cloth] had slipped down to her stomach.
- (A299) <d65.2> [pr _ pr*/l]
 Akaifuata hiyo damu kutoka mdomoni-nyengine imetapakaa kifuani pake
 pote
 He traced the blood from her mouth[with his handkerchief], some had spread all over her chest.
- (A300) <d92.1> [pr _ pr/l]
 [fikra] Zilipanda kichwani
 His thought rose up in his head.
- (A301) <d92.1> [pr _ pr/l]
 [joto] lakini lilikuja kutua kifuani
 But the heat came to settle in his chest.

- (A302) <d92.8> [th _ pr*/l]
 Hewa ilikata mbavuni mwake na kuvuma masikioni,
 The [hot] air seared his lungs and buzzed in his ears.
- (A303) <d92.8> [th _ pr/l]
 Hewa ilikata mbavuni mwake na kuvuma masikioni,
 The [hot] air seared his lungs and buzzed in his ears.
- (A304) <d120.3> [th _ pr*/l]
 singe ya bunduki ilichoma kifuani pa Inspekta Farouk
 The bayonet of the gun stabbed Inspector Farouk's chest.
- (A305) <ny1.2> [pr _ pr*/l]
tabasamu ikatokeza katika uso wake wenye haiba.
 A smile appeared on her beautiful face.
- (A306) <ny14.7> [pr Cs pr/l]
 alihisi kwa mbali machozi yakijisogeza machoni
 She felt tears coming from afar into her eyes
- (A307) <ny18.8> [pr _ pr*/l]
Machozi yalifunguka katika macho yake
 Tears burst out of her eyes. (lit. tears opened in her eyes).
- (A308) <ny21.1> [pr _-= pr/l]
 na maumivu iliyojikusanya kifuani miaka kumi na mine aliyoishi...
 [There came out with the breath a load of wretchedness] and pain which had
 gathered in her heart for the fourteen years which she had lived...
- (A309) <ny27.2> [pr Cs pr/l]
majaraha yakitonesha kifuani na miguuni
 Her bruises hurt on her chest and legs.
- (A310) <ny48.3> [pr _ pr*/l]
 bangili zilizotishia kuvuka katika mikono yake myembamba
 The bracelets which were threatening to come off her thin hands.
- (A311) <ny74.1> [pr _ pr/l]
 tone za machozi zikichungulia katika pembe za macho yake.
 Drops of tears peering out from the corners of her eyes.
- (A312) <ny103.6> [pr _ pr*/l]
 na jasho lilipokuwa likichimbuka katika ngozi yake, likachirizika shingoni,
kupapa katika nguo yake
 And as the sweat welled out of her skin, trickled down her neck, and soaked
 through to her clothes.
- (A313) <ny111.1> [th _ pr*/l]
 Na sasa [nyamafu] ilikuwa haitaki kukaa katika tumbo lake
 And now it did not want to stay in her stomach [Encouraged by Sulubu,
 Rehema has eaten chicken killed by predator, but she feels guilty and is
 about to be sick]
- (A314) <ny112.11> [pr _ pr*/l]
 akakata jasho lililokuwa likipapa juu ya kipaji chake
 He wiped the sweat which had gathered on his forehead.
- (A315) <ny118.1> [pr _ pr*/l]
 Papo hapo hasira ilipanda katika uso wa Sulubu
 There and there anger surged over Sulubu's face.

- (A316) <ny118.6> [pr _ pr/l]
 Wimbi jingine la maumivu, sasa limepanda kitovuni
 Another wave of pain had now surged through her navel.
- (A317) <ny128.5> [pr _ pr*/l]
 nuru ya furaha ikameta katika macho yake teketeke
 A light of happiness sparked in his soft eyes.
- (A318) <ny141.1> [pr _ pr*/l]
 kisha akameza funda la mate lililochimbuka chini ya ulimi wake
 Then she swallowed the lump of saliva which emerged from under her tongue.
- (A319) <ny145.5> [pr _ pr*/l]
machozi yaliyokuwa yakisogea machoni mwake
 The tears which came (lit. drew near) into her eyes.
- (A320) <ny146.3> [pr _ pr*/l]
 sauti dhalili ya Rehema iliyobanwabanwa na machozi yaliyokuwa yakipanda
 katika koo lake
 The clear voice of Rehema which was distorted by the tears surging in her throat.
- (A321) <ny163.2> [pr _ pr*/l]
tai iliyo zongoka ikining'nia shingoni pake
 [His] tie which was unwound hanging on his neck.
- (A322) <s13.1> [th _ pr/l]
 [namna] inaingia akilini
 (The way you have explained it is understandable) and enters the mind.
- (A323) <u104.11> [pr _ pr*/l]
 Hata hivyo nuru hafifu ya furaha ilipasuka usoni pake
 Even so a little light of joy burst across his face.
- (A324) <u114.4> [th _ pr*/l]
 Ilikuwa kama ile pombe aliyoifakamia kila wakati iliyeyusha kifuta
kilichomo mwilini mwake.
 It was as if the beer she consumed every time melted the fat in her body.
- (A325) <u114.4> [th _ pr*/l]
 Mara nyingi aliamini kuwa hayo yalikuwa maji ya utoto yanayokupwa
mwilini mwake.
 Many times she believed that this was childish water which was draining from her body.
- (A326) <u131.6> [th _ pr/l]
 kupuu la ufukara lilipanda puani mwa jamaa waliokuwa wakiongozana
 kwenda kwa Biti Sururu.
 The smell of poverty entered the nostrils of the group that was following along towards Biti Sururu's.
- (A327) <u155.7> [th _ pr*/l]
 Maimuna alihisi ugeni wa mambo ukijiri moyoni mwake
 Maimuna felt something strange happening to her heart.

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Affective related constructions with patient represented by possessor

- (A328) <D1.2> [pr* _ th]
mwili wa Fumu ungalizoea [dhiki]
 Fumu's body would have been used to distress.

- (A329) <d29.7> [pr* _]
Midomo yake imevimba
 His lips are swollen.
- (A330) <d35.8> [pr* _ pl/l]
Macho yake madogo yamezidi kutumbukia ndani
 His small eyes had receded even further.
- (A331) <d50.2> [pr* _]
Moyo wake ulipiga
 His heart beat.
- (A332) <d53.6> [pr* _-th]
Jicho la Bakari lilifuata ile kamba
 Bakari's eye followed that rope.
- (A333) <d54.3> [pr* _]
 yale macho yake makali yamewiva
 His wild eyes were red.
- (A334) <d55.3> [pr* _-th]
Chozi la Bakari lilianza kurovya mfuko huo
 Bakari's tears started to wet that sack.
- (A335) <d55.3> [pr* _]
sauti yake ya kilio iligugumka
 His crying voice stuttered.
- (A336) <d56.2> [pr* _]
akili yake ilighurika
 His mind deceived him..
- (A337) <d56.2> [pr* _]
 Kwa hakika akili yake ilighurika
 Surely his mind was bemused.
- (A338) <d57.10> [pr* _ th]
 Hapo ndipo yatawaa macho yake yakitoa nuru ya tamaa inayomshangaza
 msikilizaji
 That's when her eyes would sparkle giving out an eager light that would
 astonish the beholder.
- (A339) <d64.7> [pr* _ mnr]
pua yake imesimama kama kijiti kikavu
 Her nose was standing like a small dry tree.
- (A340) <d64.7> [pr* _ pl/l]
 na meno yake makubwa yanatapia kutoka nje
 And her big teeth were sticking out.
- (A341) <d65.1> [pr* _ pl/l]
 na kikoa chake kilipanda juu na kuteremka chini.
 And her Adam's apple rose and fell.
- (A342) <d65.2> [pr* _]
 Pandu alinyoosha mikono yake inotetema,
 Pandu stretched out his trembling hands.
- (A343) <d68.4> [pr* _]
Macho yake yalipwesa mfululizo.
 Her eyes twitched repeatedly.

- (A344) <d84.7> [pr* _ th/l]
Jicho lake lilitua kwenye ripoti ya mwanzo
 His eye rested on the first report.
- (A345) <d85.6> [pr* Rc]
Uso wake umekunjana
 Her face was wrinkled.
- (A346) <d85.6> [pr* _ mnɾ]
 mapeto ya ngozi yanaanza kuvuta kasi
 The wrinkles were becoming contorted.
- (A347) <d85.6> [pr* _]
pua yake pana imeporomoka
 Her wide nose overhung.
- (A348) <d85.6> [pr* _ th]
Uso wake unatia huruma.
 Her face aroused pity.
- (A349) moved to A444a
- (A350) <d86.14> [pr* _ mnɾ]
kope zake zikapwesa kama ungo unaopetwa.
 Her eye lids twitched like a joint which is being flexed.
- (A351) <d94.1> [pr* _ pl/l]
sauti yake ikipaa juu na kujaa onyo
 His voice mounted high and was full of warning.
- (A352) <d96.2> [pr* _ th]
 Fumu alikuwa kachutama akiangalia machizi yake ya mwisho yakirovya
 ardhi
 Fumu was squatting as he looked at his last tears wetting the earth.
- (A353) <d97.1> [pr* _ pt]
Mawazo ya konde yake iliyotiwa moto yalimmiliki
 Thoughts of his plot which had been set alight dominated him.
- (A354) <d97.6> [pr* _]
Moyo wake ulijetea.
 His heart had built up confidence.
- (A355) <d116.3> [_ <pr*>]
ilipaa sauti ya Fumu.
 Fumu's voice rose.
- (A356) <d116.7> [pr* _ pl]
akili zao zimeelekea kumoya tu jela
 Their minds were concentrated on one place, the jail.
- (A357) <d120.1> [pr* _ th/l]
uso wake ulitua kwenye maiti ya Fumu
 Her eyes rested on Fumu's corpse.
- (A358) <ny5.1> [pr* Ps th/n]
mwili wake hautoguswa na harufu ya kuigiza
 Her skin would not be touched by artificial perfume
- (A359) <ny8.3> [pr* _]
uso wake ukicheka
 There was laughter in his face. (lit. His face was laughing)

- (A360) <ny11.3> [pr* _]
 Fuad alibabaika kidogo, na punde hali yake ilirudi
 Fuad stuttered a little, and in an instant his composure returned.
- (A361) <ny12.4> [pr* Rc]
 Macho yao yakakutana. Roho zao zikaumana...milele
 Their met, their hearts were interlocked ...forever.
- (A362) <ny14.6> [pr* _]
roho yake haikuamini
 She did not believe. (lit. her heart did not believe).
- (A363) <ny14.7> [pr* _]
uso wake ulibadilika.
 [Fuad's] face changed [when he saw the pigmentation of baby Rehema]
- (A364) <ny18.5> [pr* _]
Nafsi ya Aziza ilishituka
 Aziza's whole being was in shock.
- (A365) <ny21.1> [pr* _]
uso wake umejaa
 Her face was well fleshed.
- (A366) <ny21.1> [pr* _ mnr]
kifua chake kikanyanyuka kwa nguvu
 Her chest moved up strongly.
- (A367) <ny26.10> [pr* _ mnr]
Moyo wake ukipiga kwa nguvu
 Her heart was beating strongly.
- (A368) <ny27.2> [pr* Ps th]
Mwili wake ulikuwa umefunikwa seruni
 Her body was covered with a cloth.
- (A369) <ny37.1> [pr* _]
moyo wake ulishituka
 Her heart was startled.
- (A370) <ny52.5> [pr* _]
Kifua chake kilikuwa kimeumka
 Her figure was plump. (lit. leavened)
- (A371) <ny52.5> [pr* _]
midomo yake imejaa
 Her lips were well-fleshed.
- (A372) <ny52.5> [pr* _]
mashavu yake yaking'aa,
 Her cheeks were sparkling.
- (A373) <ny54.4> [pr* _]
nywele zake zimetimka
 Her hair was ruffled.
- (A374) <ny54.4> [pr* _]
macho yake yametisika
 Her eyes were moving to and fro.
- (A375) <ny54.4> [pr* _]
uso wa bwana mmoja ukichungulia
 The face of a man was peeping.

- (A376) <ny56.5> [pr* _ th]
kinywa chake kikichakua ubani mfululizo
 Her mouth was chewing gum continuously.
- (A377) <ny57.3> [pr* _]
sura yake ilikuwa imefifia katika mwangaza hafifu wa kandili
 Her face was faint in the feeble light of the candle.
- (A378) <ny57.3> [pr* Cp mnr]
Roho yake ilikuwa nzito
 Her heart was heavy.
- (A379) <ny57.3> [pr* _]
ulimi wake haukuweza kunyanyuka kusema lo lote
 She couldn't stir her tongue to say anything.
- (A380) <ny72.1> [pr* _ mnr]
moyo wake ulikuwa ukishindika kwa kasi
 Her heart was pounding furiously (after witnessing love-making for the first time).
- (A381) <ny73.6> [pr* Rc]
 mapindi ya miili yao yameumana pamoja
 (As she saw in her mind) the curves of their bodies were joined together.
- (A382) <ny74.1> [pr* _ th]
macho yake yakionesha mtisiko wa homa
 His eyes exhibited the bleariness of fever.
- (A383) <ny84.3> [pr* _]
sauti yake ikitetemeka
 Her voice trembling (as she seeks father's pardon and blessing).
- (A384) <ny87.10> [pr* _]
 alipoingia ndani hakuweza tena kuyazuia machozi yake yasipukutike
 When she entered inside she could no longer resist the tears from falling.
- (A385) <ny103.6> [pr* _ mnr]
 Na moyo wake ulipokuwa ukipiga kwa nguvu
 And when her heart was beating strongly (from exertion).
- (A386) <ny104.5> [pr* _ pl/l]
 Sasa alijua kuwa jasho lake litatua aridhini.
 Now she knew that her sweat will rest in the earth (because they had bought land).
- (A387) <ny107.1> [pr* _ -=
 Rehema aliiona roho yake imejibwaga,
 Rehema realised her heart was at rest (lit. had eased itself).
- (A388) <ny107.1> [pr* _]
Uso wake ulioyabisika kwa kukwatuliwa
 Her face which was (previously) caked through the application of makeup (now shone naturally).
- (A389) <ny108.2> [pr* Ps th/n]
 Ilionesha kama kwamba roho yake iliingiwa na majonzi ya bure
 It seemed that her heart was filled with a futile heaviness.
- (A390) <ny118.1> [pr* _]
 na sura yake ikabadilika
 And his countenance changed.

- (A391) <ny125.9> [pr* _ mn̩r]
Roho ya Salma ilipasuka kwa taarifa hii
 Salma's heart was torn by this information.
- (A392) <ny129.2> [pr* _]
Moyo wa Salma ulishituka na kuanza kwenda mbio
 Salma's heart was startled and started to beat fast.
- (A393) <ny129.2> [pr* _ mn̩r]
Moyo wa Salma ulishituka na kuanza kwenda mbio
 Salma's heart was startled and started to beat fast.
- (A394) <ny139.6> [pr* _]
 ndipo roho yake itue
 Her heart would be calmed down (when she has found mother's marriage certificate).
- (A395) <ny140.1> [pr* _]
Mikono ya Rehema ilitetemeka
 Rehema's hands trembled (as she opened the letter).
- (A396) <ny140.1> [pr* _ mn̩r]
 na moyo wake ulikwenda mbio
 And her heart beat fast.
- (A397) <ny140.3> [pr* _]
nyoyo zao zilipasuka na kwenda mbio
 Their heart exploded and beat fast.
- (A398) <ny140.3> [pr* _ mn̩r]
nyoyo zao zilipasuka na kwenda mbio
 Their hearts burst and beat fast (as they answer summons from lawyer).
- (A399) <ny154.2> [pr* _ mn̩r]
 na kukaa kitako akalia kutwa kucha hadi machozi yake yakachirizika kama
 kijito cha Ramwe
 And sitting down she wept all night until her tears trickled like the stream of Ramwe.
- (A400) <ny155.2> [pr* _ mn̩r]
 'Yarabi salama!' alisema katika moyo wake uliokuwa ukienda mbio
 'Heaven help us!' she said in her heart which was beating fast. [Sulubu has fired the bush in attempt to control insects]
- (A401) <ny163.3> [pr* _ mn̩r]
 'fimbo ya Mungu!' roho ya Salma ilinong'ona tena ndani kwa ndani
 'God's rod!' Salma's mind whispered again deep inside.
- (A402) <ny164.5> [pr* Ps th/n]
 Na kusema kwa upole mbele ya uso wake uliopigwa na bumbuazi
 And said slowly in front of her face which was perplexed.
- (A403) <ny165.4> [pr* _ mn̩r]
 Mara moyo wake ukaanza kwenda mbio kwa hofu ya kitendo alichokifanya
 Suddenly her heart started beating fast for the fear of the act which she had done.
- (A404) <ny167.2> [pr* _]
Roho ya Rehema ilishituka
 Rehema's heart was startled.

- (A405) <s30.3> [pr* _]
 Kan'ambia kwamba moyo wake umemili sana juu yangu
 He told me that his heart was set upon me.
- (A406) <s64.3> [pt, pr* _]
 Hafifu mdomo wake unamumunya
 (Bwana Msa paused when he saw) Hafifu spluttering (lit. his mouth
 champing)
- (A407) <s90.1> [pr* _]
 kichwa na nusu ya kiwiliwili chake vimezama
 His head and half his body had sunk (in the crater)
- (A408) <u11.10> [pr* _]
 lakini kila muda uliopita, nafsi yake ilibadilika
 But every moment that passed his mind changed
- (A409) <u13.1> [pr* _ mnr/k]
Moyo wake ulisisimka kwa ari na ghadhabu
 His heart was incited with shame and fear
- (A410) <u45.4> [pr* _]
 ndipo moyo wake hapo hapo ulipogutuka.
 Then was her heart startled immediately
- (A411) <u45.4> [pr* _]
 Hata mdomo wa Bi Tamima ulikwama,
 Even Bi Tamima's lips were glued together (lit. got stuck)
- (A412) <u50.5> [pr* _ pl/l]
Macho yake yalitua kwenye picha kubwa
 Her eyes rested on a large picture (which hung on the wall)
- (A413) <u105.4> [pr* _ Ap pl/l]
Midomo yake midogo imetumbukia ndani
 His small mouth had sunk in.
- (A414) <u107.7> [pr* _ th]
sauti yake Makuudi ilishaanza kuvuta kilio
 Makuudi's voice had already started turning into (pulling) a cry.
- (A415) <u114.4> [pr* _ th]
Macho yake malegevu ingawa yameshiba udhaifu na machofu ya usingizi wa
 kulimbika siku hata siku
 Her soft eyes though were very weak (full of weakness) and exhausted from
 lack of sleep day after day.
- (A416) <u123.8> [pr* _ mnr]
Moyo wa Makuudi uligonga mfululizo
 Makuudi's heart drummed repeatedly.
- (A417) <u124.5> [pr* _]
Moyo wa Makuudi ulikaribia kung'oka.
 Makuudi's heart nearly jumped (uprooted).
- (A418) <u128.3> [pr* _ th]
 na hata macho yake yalipochanganya nuru...
 Though through his eyes could only half half see (lit. his eyes were mixed
 with light).
- (A419) moved to A502a

- (A420) <u133.2> [pr* _]
Mdomo wake haukufumbuka
 Her mouth would not open.
- (A421) <u144.6> [pr* _]
 na moyo wake ukavurugika
 And her heart was being stirring up.
- (A422) <u153.4> [pr* _]
Uso wake Maimuna umefanya bapa, macho yake yamekonda na kupwaya
 Mainuna's face was puffed, her eyes had grown thin and loose.
- (A423) <u153.4> [pr* _]
 Nywele zimetimka ovyo na kuufanya uso wake uparame
 Her hair was ruffled untidily and made her face bare.
- (A424) <u153.4> [pr* _ mnr]
jicho lake lilitembea mbiombio kwenye bahari,
 Her eye travelled quickly towards the sea.
- (A425) <u153.4> [pr* _ pl/l]
 Halafu tena jicho lake lilikuja kwenye mpwa,
 Later her eye came to the shore.
- (A426) <u153.4> [pr* _ th pr*/l]
jicho lake lilitia nanga usoni pa huyu kijana mvuvi aliyekuwa bado kazubaa
 kwa utukutu wa mwanamke huyu.
 Her eye rested (anchored) on the face of this young fisherman who was still
 perplexed by the forwardness of this woman.
- (A427) <u154.12> [pr* _ mnr]
Moyo wa Kabi ulidunda ghafla.
 Kabi's heart drummed suddenly.
- (A428) <u155.6> [pr* _ th]
 lakini leo huruma zake zimeingia kitu
 But today his kindness had entered into something else (i.e. turned to love).
- (A429) <u167.8> [pr* _]
 huku moyo wake umevurugika
 And her heart was in turmoil. (Farashuu confronting Maimuna)
- (A430) <u172.2> [pr* Cs th]
Mwili wake ulirejesha hali yake na uzima
 Her body restored her former state of health.
- (A431) moved to A508a
- (A432) <u175.3> [pr* _ mnr]
kifua chake kiliroa chapachapa
 (Farashuu's) chest was soaking wet.

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*Affective related constructions with patient represented by possessor &
 locative property*

- (A433) <d85.6> [pr* _ pr*/l]
puu yake pana imeporomoka na kutambaa karibu na mdomo wake wa juu
 Her wide nose had slipped down and spread wide close to her upper lip.
- (A434) <d93.7> [pr* <pr/l> _]
shuka yake kiunoni inapepea
 His cloth flapping at his waist.

- (A435) <d93.7> [pr* _ pr/l]
 weusi wa ngozi yake ulimeremeta kwenye jasho lililotiririka na kumremba
 kifuani na mgongoni
 The darkness of his skin shone in the sweat which trickled and lined his
 chest and back.
- (A436) <d99.4> [pr* _ pr/l]
 na ndevu zake za beberu zimestawi kidevuni
 And his he goat's beard was sprouting on his chin.
- (A437) <ny21.1> [pr* _ pr/p]
pua yake imepiga goti kati ya muumko wa mashavu yenye kung'aa
 Her nose had a 'kneeling' profile between the bulge of her shining cheeks.
- (A438) <ny113.8> [pr* Ps pr/l nstr]
 akapandisha juu ya kipaji miwani yake iliyofungwa masikioni kwa uzi
 He pushed up his spectacles which were tied to his ears with a thread.
- (A439) <ny123.2> [pr* _ pr/l]
 akapitisha vidole kuzipandisha juu nywele zake zilizokuwa zikianguka usoni
 She raised her fingers to push up her hair which was falling over her face.
- (A440) <s19.1> [pr* _ pr/l]
Pua yake nyembamba iliteremka mpaka karibu ya kinywa kipana
 Her slim nose descended close to her wide mouth.
- (A441) moved to A457a
- (A442) <u56.5> [pr* Ps pr/l]
nguo yake imechanwa kifuani,
 Her clothes were ripped across the chest.
- =====
- Intransitive affective with patient represented by possessor & affective object*
- (A443) <d2.2> [pr* _-pt pl/l]
moyo wake ulimbururia kule kule
 His heart tugged at him right there.
- (A444) <d49.16> [pr* _-pt]
tamaa yake ilimcheza shere
 His impatience mocked him.
- (A444a) <d85.6> [pr* _ pt]
 Kwa mbali ile miguu yake yenye matege inanza kumlegea.
 From some distance her bowed legs started giving way.
- (A445) <d96.1> [pr* _-pt mnr]
 akapokea fahamu yake iliyomrejea mbiombio.
 He recovered his reason which returned to him quickly.
- (A446) <ny8.2> [pr* _-pt]
tamaa yake imemcheza
 His greed had got the better of him.
- (A447) <ny108.2> [pr* Ap -pt]
 mara tena ulikuja wakati ambao Rehema aliona bure tu moyo wake
umemgeukia
 Once again there came a time when Rehema perceived that her change of
 mood may be for nothing.

- (A448) <s74.1> [pr* _-pt pr*/l]
 na sigareti yake kumponyoka vidoleni mwake
 His cigarette had slipped from his fingers
- (A449) <u8.4> [pr* _-pt]
 mara moja moja moyo wake uliwahi kumbeza
 Once in a while her heart pricked her
- (A450) <u94.1> [pr* _-pt]
akili ya Maimuna lilimsimanga.
 Maimuna's mind reproached her.
- (A451) <u102.1> [pr* _-pt]
akili yake iliendelea kumsimanga.
 His mind continued to pester (dig) him.
- (A452) <u102.3> [pr* _-pt]
Nafsi yake iliendelea kumchimba.
 His conscience continued to prick him.
- (A453) <u103.1> [pr* _-pt]
 Akautazama mkono wake wa kushoto uliokuwa ukimtetemeka,
 He looked at his left hand which was trembling.
- (A454) <u114.4> [pr* _-pt]
uso wake kidogo ulikuwa umemparama
 His face was a little dried up.
- (A455) <u133.14> [pr* _-pt pr/l]
Kanga yake iliyojikunja kama peto la nyoka ilimkaa juu ya kifua
 Her cloth which had got folded like a coiled snake lay on top of her chest.
- (A456) <u159.2> [pr* Ap -pt pr*/l]
Suruali yake ya sufu yenye makunguru mekundu ilimpepea kwenye mguu
 wake kibutu
 His red checked trousers flapped on his amputated leg.
- (A457) <u172.2> [pr* _-pt]
Kivimbo chake kilimreja
 Her plumpness returned.
- (A457a) <s54.8> [pr* _ pr*/l]
suti yake ya lasi ilimkaa vyema mwilini mwake.
 His silk suit suited his body well. (lit. sat well on his body)

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Affective related constructions with two properties

- (A458) <D1.2> [pr* _ pr]
mwili wake umehimili sulubu na mateso
 His body had endured hard work and trouble.
- (A459) <d4.2> [pr _ pr]
 [mguu] wenye kijaraha, akaukanyagia chini, halafu ukafuata wa pili
 He lowered the leg with the sore, he stood it on the ground, then the second
 one followed it.
- (A460) <d16.4> [pr _ pr]
Kijaraha kilikuwa kikichimbuka damu
 The sore was oozing blood.

- (A461) <d35.8> [pr _ pr]
Macho yake madogo yamezidi kutumbukia ndani, kutoa nafasi paji lake
 lichomoze, tena yameiva damu
 His small eyes had increased to tumble inside to make space for his forehead
 to stick out and his eyes were bloodshot.
- (A462) <d40.8> [pr* _ pr]
kifua chake kikaroa machozi,
 His chest became wet with tears.
- (A463) <d57.10> [pr* _ pr]
 sasa mwili wake umekupwa damu,
 Now her skin had dried out of blood. [her skin has become pale.]
- (A464) <d57.10> [pr* _ pr]
Uso wake umehozi jitimai
 Her face was grieved.
- (A465) <d65.2> [pr* _ pr]
 aliona mdomo wa bibi huyu umeroa damu.
 He saw that the lips of this woman were wet with blood.
- (A466) <d77.2> [pr* _ pr]
Uso wa Bi Nafisa umepasua furaha
 Bi Nafisa's face burst out with joy.
- (A467) <d85.6> [pr* _ pr]
Macho yake dhaifu meupe yamefukuza damu
 Her weak white eyes had become drained of blood.
- (A468) <d90.1> [pr* _ pr]
 wakanyanyuka watoto huku nyoyo zao zilizojaa tamaa zikiwawazia mangapi
 ya baadaye
 They suckled their children, while their hearts, filled with expectation
 thought of many things to come.
- (A469) <d94.12> [pr* _ pr]
uso wa Fauz ulijaa wasiwasi
 Fauz's face was full of worry.
- (A470) <d97.5> [pr* _ pr]
Moyo wake ulijaa kiherehere
 His heart was full of anxiety.
- (A471) <d98.7> [pr* _ pr]
Sauti ya Fumu imechukua hamaki
 Fumu's voice assumed anger.
- (A472) <d105.2> [pr* _ pr]
uso wake umajaa tabasamu
 His face was filled with a smile.
- (A473) <d118.2> [pr* _ pr]
Nafsi ya Mzee Jaku ilijaa ghamu
 Mzee Jaku's self esteem /personal feelings was full of distress.
- (A474) <ny14.7> [pr _ pr*]
hisia ngeni iliutwaa moyo wake
 A strange feeling came into her heart.

- (A475) <ny23.1> [pr* _ pr]
 Katika moyo wake uliokuwa ukichemka ari
 In her heart which was boiling with determination.[as she ran away from home]
- (A476) <ny29.3> [pr* _ pr]
musuli zake nyembamba, zilizoloa jasho zikimetameta juani
 His thin muscles, which were wet with sweat shone in the sun.
- (A477) <ny37.1> [pr* _ pr]
 Aliponyanyuka tena uso wake, ulikuwa umejaa maumivu ya raha
 When he [Sulubu] raised his face again it was filled with the pain of joy.
- (A478) <ny38.1> [pr* _ pr*]
akili ya Rehema ilifunua macho yake
 Rehema's brain uncovered her eyes.(lit. her eyes got used to the dark and began to see)
- (A479) <ny38.3> [pr _ pr]
 na kichwa kilichojaa wasiwasi
 And a head which was filled with worry / uncertainty.
- (A480) <ny47.2> [pr Ps pr/n]
 [alikuwa bwana] mwenye nywele za singa zilizoliwa na upara katikati
 He had curly hair which was eaten away in the middle by baldness.
- (A481) <ny52.5> [pr _ pr*]
 na chunusi mbili-tatu zikatona uso wake
 And two or three pimples had formed spots on her face.
- (A482) <ny56.5> [pr* _ pr]
 na macho yake yakimeta furaha
 Her eyes sparkled with joy.
- (A483) <ny65.8> [pr Rc pr]
 akatazama nje kwa macho yaliyoloana machozi
 (She stood at the window and) she looked out with eyes which were wet with tears.
- (A484) <ny68.1> [pr Ps pr]
mikono iliyotungwa bangili
 Her arms (which were) adorned with bangles.
- (A485) <ny94.10> [pr _ pr]
Uso mrefu ulioloa jasho
 His long face which was wet with sweat.
- (A486) <ny103.2> [pr _ pr]
 mbavu zake zimetokeza chini ya ngozi iliyonyonyoka manyoya
 (Sulubu's dog Simba's) ribs stuck out underneath his skin from which the fur had been rubbed bare.
- (A487) <ny112.10> [pr _ pr]
vidole vyake vilivyoshika ncha ya kidevu vikieleza mshangao na hasira zake
 Her fingers which held the tip of her chin expressed her shock and anger
 (Sulubu had made Rehema pregnant. Bikiza insists on their instant marriage).
- (A488) <ny119.2> [pr _ pr]
 Alipoangaza kwa macho yaliyolewa machofu...
 When she peered with eyes that were intoxicated by weariness...

- (A489) <ny139.5> [pr* _ pr]
moyo wake umejaa tamaa.
 Her heart was filled with eagerness.
- (A490) <ny146.3> [pr* Ps pr/n]
sauti dhalili ya Rehema iliyobanwabanwa na machozi yaliyokuwa yakipanda
 katika koo lake
 The clear voice of Rehema which was distorted by the tears surging in her
 throat.
- (A491) <u36.10> [pr* _ pr]
Uso wake ulikuwa umesharabu mavune ya kilio na kiwingu cheusi cha damu
 kilijikusanya chini ya macho yake mekundu.
 Her face had absorbed the fatigue of weeping and a black cloud of blood
 formed bags (collected itself) under her red eyes.
- (A492) <u40.2> [pr _ pr]
 'Wallahi mama sikutaji,' aliendelea kwa sauti iliyoloa machozi
 'Never, madam I will not mention you /your name,' she went on in a voice
 sodden with tears.
- (A493) <u59.3> [pr* _ pr]
 Sasa macho yake yalianza kulengalenga machozi
 Tears begun to form in her eyes.
- (A494) <u95.8> [pr _ pr*]
[usingizi] utayafumba macho yake
 Sleep will close her eyes.
- (A495) <u107.7> [pr _ pr]
macho yalishaanza kuiva machozi.
 His eyes had already begun to go red with tears.
- (A496) <u131.5> [pr* _ pr]
 ndani akiwa na shajiisho lililofanya mwili wake usihisi maumivu
 Inside he had a determination which (made) him not to feel pain.
- (A497) <u156.5> [pr _ pr]
 huku akimwambia Kabi kwa sauti iliyojaa machozi
 Telling Kabi with a voice which was filled with tears.

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Intransitive affective constructions with two properties and affective patient

- (A498) <d3.3> [pr _-pt pr]
 Hapa Fumu alimeza dovuo lililokuwa limemjaa kinywa
 Here Fumu swallowed the saliva which had filled his mouth.
- (A499) <d30.1> [pr _-pt pr]
 Kumbe hamaki ziliziba macho
 Behold anger blinded her eyes.
- (A500) <ny87.1> [pr _-pt pr]
 sasa uzee umempinda mgongo
 Old age had now bent his (Mzee Pongwa's) back.
- (A501) <u46.2> [pr _-pt pr]
Roho imemjaa joto
 Her heart was filled with heat
- (A502) <u106.3> [pr _-pt pr]
fulana ya mikono iliyomziba kifua chote
 A jersey with sleeves which covered the whole of his chest.

- (A502a) <u131.6> [pr* _ pl]
Na mara moja mguu wake mgonjwa uliingia shimoni
And once the leg of the sick man slipped into a hole (and got scratched).
- (A503) <u114.4> [pr _-pt pr]
Sasa mara kwa mara uso ulimtoka kifuta na kumng'ara.
Now from time to time her face emitted fat which made it shine.
- (A504) <u143.4> [pr _-pt pr]
Damu ilimchirika na kumziba uso
Blood trickled from her and blotted her face.
- (A505) <u153.4> [pr _-pt pr]
Shepeo la Kabi lenye kingo pana lilimziba uso kwa vile namna alivyokaa.
Kabi's broad rimmed hat covered his face because of the way he sat.
- (A506) <u153.5> [pr _-pt pr pt]
Maimuna alipasua kicheko kidogo kilichojaribu kuficha ubabaifu wake na
kumtoa wasiwasi Kabi.
Maimuna burst out with a little laughter which tried to hide her stuttering
and remove/clear Kabi's anxiety.
- (A507) <u157.7> [pr _-pt pr]
Moyo ulimpapa na pumzi zilimjaa kifua tele
Her heart was fluttering and breath filled her chest to the brim.
- (A508) <u175.2> [pr _-pt pr*]
Alikukumbuka kwa maumivu yaliyomwunguza ini na moyo wake
He remembered you with the pain that had seared his liver and heart
- (A508a) <u175.3> [pr**pt _ pr]
Uso wake Bi Tamima umeroa machozzi;
Bi Tamima's face was wet with tears.

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Intransitive affective constructions with locative property

- (A509) <d2.7> [pr*ag _-pt pr/l]
Maneno yake [Mzee Gae] ya kila siku sasa yalingonga Fumu kwenye
masikio
Mzee Gae's daily words drummed in his ears.
- (A510) <d6.1> [pr _-pt pr/l mnr]
Ni maswala yaliyomwenda midomoni mbiombio
There were questions which came into his mouth.
- (A511) <d6.3> [pr _-pt pr/l mnr]
Fumu alipitikiwa na mawazo mengi yaliyompanda kichwani kama umeme
Fumu was invaded by thoughts which flashed [lit. climbed] into his head like
lightning.
- (A512) <d33.2> [pr _-pt pr/l]
Dovuo limenganda kidevuni.
Saliva had dried up on his beard.
- (A513) <d34.4> [pr _-pt pr/l]
Ujuba unamwenda midomoni
Violence [dirty words] came into his mouth.
- (A514) <d47.2> [pr _-pt pr/l]
pumzi za uchungu zinamwenda kifuani.
A bitter breath came into his chest.

- (A514a) <d49.16> [ag _-pt pr/l]
 [Nzi] mmoja alimtua usoni
 A fly landed on his face.
- (A515) <d55.6> [th _-pt pr/l]
Ilimkera moyoni.
 It weighed heavy on his heart.
- (A516) <d57.8> [pr _-pt pr/l]
 Alijaribu kumeza mawazo yake, akayahisi yanampenya pahala fulani.
 He tried to swallow his thoughts, he felt them getting to some other part of him.
- (A517) <d61.2> [pr _-pt pr*/l]
denda likampita kwenye mapengo yake likadondoka chini.
 Saliva passed through the gaps between her teeth and dripped down.
- (A518) <d75.7> [pr _-pt pr/l]
 Chini kaptura inamfika mapajani
 Below, his shorts came down to his thighs.
- (A519) <d93.7> [pr _-pt pr/l]
 weusi wa ngozi yake ulimeremeta kwenye jasho lililotiririka na kumremba kifuani na mgongoni
 The darkness of his skin shone in the sweat which trickled and lined his chest and back.
- (A520) <d102.1> [pr _-pt pr/l]
 Bakari aliona anabubuja maneno yaliyomganda kichwani
 Bakari saw that he was bubbling out words which were fixed in his head.
- (A521) <d105.11> [pr _-pt pr*/l]
mishipa ya chuki imemsimama kwenye kipaji chake
 Veins of hatred stood out on his forehead.
- (A522) <d116.9> [th _-pt pr*/l]
 mvua iliyokuwa ikimiminika na kumpiga maungoni mwake
 The rain was dripping and striking his limbs.
- (A523) <d116.10> [pr _-pt pr/l]
 [Bakari] akimjia damu zinamchiririka usoni
 [Bakari approached him] with blood trickling down his face.
- (A524) <ny26.3> [pr _-pt pr/l]
Pumzi zilimfoka kinywani
 Her breath caught short in her mouth.
- (A525) <ny56.6> [pr _-pt pr*/l]
 Chiku aliziba kinywa kwa mkono kukizuia kicheko kilichokuwa kikimsonga katika koo lake
 Chiku covered her mouth with her hand to control the laughter which was convulsing in her throat.
- (A526) <ny72.2> [pr*x _-pt pr*/l]
 Sura na sauti za viumbe wawili waliokuwa wakitapatapa katika kiwewe cha mapenzi, zilikwishamwingia rohoni mwake
 The image and voices of the two creatures who were trembling in the wildness of love, entered her heart.
- (A527) <ny94.10> [pr _ pr*/p]
 Nuru ya furaha ilimeta katika uso wake
 The light of joy shone in his face (as Sulubu recognises Rehema).

- (A528) <ny103.6> [th _-pt pr/l]
 miali ya jua ilipokuwa ikimchoma mwilini
 When the rays of the sun were burning on her body.
- (A529) <ny167.5> [th _-pt pr/l]
 utando mweusi ukamgubika machoni
 A black veil covered her eyes (as she fainted).
- (A530) <s78.2> [th _-pt pr/l]
 posa zimekwisha kumdongoka mdomoni mwake
 The marriage proposal had slipped out of his grip (lit. dripped from his mouth)
- (A531) <u24.1> [th _-pt pt pr*/l]
 kauli ya Biti Kocho ilimgonga tena Maimuna kichwani mwake
 The advice of Biti Kocho hit Maimuna again in her head
- (A532) <u38.7> [pr _-pt pr*/l]
 [machozi] yakamtiririka kwenye mashavu yake
 Tears trickled down her cheeks.
- (A533) <u67.5> [th _-pt pr/l]
 Jua kali na joto limewakaa rohani.
 the fierce sun and the heat was oppressive (lit. sat on their heart).
- (A534) <u91.4> [th _-pt pr/l]
 Vuke kali lilimpanda puani.
 A powerful odour (steam) rose into her nose (from the beer).
- (A535) <u93.6> [th _-pt pr/l]
 Vuguvugu la baridi lililogandia vumbi kwa siku nyingi lilimvamia usoni na kumpenya puani.
 A cold mustiness sealed into the dust over many days struck her in the face and penetrated her nose.
- (A536) <u144.6> [pr _-pt pr*/l]
 Yale maneno aliyoyasema babaake na kakaake yalimpenya kichwani mwake
 Those words which were spoken by her father and brother penetrated her head.
- (A537) <u144.6> [pr _-pt pr/l]
Moto ulikuwa ukimwaka kifuani
 Heat was burning in her heart.
- (A538) <u152.1> [pr _-pt pr/l]
 [kavaa] suruali iliyomfika miundini
 He wore trousers which reached his calves.
- (A539) <u155.7> [pr _-pt pr/l]
Pumzi zilimjaa kifuani akazishusha kwa nguvu
 Her breath filled her chest and she let it out heavily.
- (A540) <u156.5> [th _-pt pr/l]
Maneno yenyewe yalimpanda kichwani kama chemchem.
 The words (themselves) sprung in her head like a spring.
- (A541) <u159.2> [pr _-pt pr/l]
Shungi la koka lililochanwa na kupasuliwa njia upande limemkaa vyema kichwani.
 His hairdo which was combed and parted on one side looked well (lit. sat well) on his head.

(A542) <u168.8> [pr _-pt pr/l]
 akalipandisha buibui lake juu na kulipenyeza shingoni. Likamkaa mabegani.
 She raised her veil and put it over her neck; it sat on her shoulders.

(A543) <u168.10> [pr _-pt pr/l]
 Tazama kovu ile iliyomkaa usoni
 .Look at that scar on her face.

=====

Intransitive affective construction with locative property -- passive

(A544) <ny7.3> [pr*/l, pt Ps th/n]
begani pake kaelemewa na mali nyingi aliyoikusanya
 On his shoulders he was burdened with the many properties which he
 gathered.

=====

Miscellaneous affective related constructions with patient and property

(A545) <ny18.5> [pr/p _ th]
 katika kichwa chake mlipiga mchemu ulioanguka mwili mzima na kuufanya
 upooze
 On her head there had been struck a blow (lit. crowbar) which had fallen on
 her whole body and made it freeze.

(A546) <s31.4> [th Ap pr*/l]
 Yote hayo, Bwana Msa, yamenipitia moyoni mwangu kwa dakika ile ile
 All that things, Bwana Msa passed through my mind in that moment.

(A547) <s75.5> [pr Cp *]
lakini roho si yake
 His mind was not his own

(A548) <u46.2> [pt _ pr/k]
 Maksuudi anatetemeka kwa hamaki
 Maksuudi was trembling with anger

(A549) <u56.3> [pr Cp pr mnr]
Chozi lilikuwa kifua tele
 Tears filled her chest. (lit. Tears were chest profusion)

(A550) <u114.4> [th Ap pr*/l]
 [maji] Ingawa hakujuu kwa nini yatokee usoni pake tu
 Although she did not know why it came out of her face only.

(A551) <u149.3> [pr pr/l]
Buibui na mkoba mkononi,
 with her veil and her bag in her hand.

(A551a) <u35.17> [th _ pr]!
 uso kaugubika kwenye mto ambao ulikuwa umeroa machozi
 She covered her face with a pillow which was wet with tears

(A551b) <u140.10> [pt, pr _ pr]
Kijakazi sauti yake imejaa dharau.
 Kijakazi's voice was full of contempt.

(A551c) <u147.1> [th Cs pr*]
 Chochote cha kujaza tumbo lake lililodai kupata haki yake.
 Anything to fill her stomach which demanded to obtain its right.

Transitive affective constructions (cf chapter 4)

Transitive affective constructions with patient pre-referenced

- (A552) <d2.8> [ag _-pt pr* nstr/k]
Walinvunja kichwa changu kwa nyundo
 They broke my head with a hammer.
- (A553) <d20.2> [ag _-pt pr]
Alimkamata mabega
 He [Fumu] grasped her [Kazija's] shoulders.
- (A554) <d29.5> [ag _-pt pr]
 Akanyoosha kono lake hadi kwenye kidevu cha mumewe na kumwinua uso
 She stretched out her hand towards her husband's chin and raised his face.
- (A555) <d43.12> [ag _-pt pr]
 usikubali nikuache mkono katika safari ngumu
 You shouldn't let me let go of your hand on a difficult journey.
- (A556) <d65.2> [ag _-pt pr pr/l]
Alimfuta damu midomoni na kifuani.
 [Pandu] He wiped the blood from her [Bi Staghafiru's] mouth and chest.
- (A557) <d65.3> [ag _-pt pr]
akamwinua mkono Bi Staghafiru, akaukanda
 He lifted Bi Staghafiru's hand and rubbed it.
- (A558) <d69.3> [ag _-pt pr]
 akaanza kumkanda miguu
 He started rubbing her legs.
- (A559) <d77.1> [ag _-pt pr]
 tena akamrekebesha kofia
 Again she straightened his hat.
- (A560) <d78.4> [ag _-pt pr*]
 'Ala, umeshamtoka ujinga wake'
 'Well, well, you have already got him out of his obstinacy'
- (A561) <d82.6> [ag _-pt pr]
 sasa kamkamata bega
 Now she is holding his shoulder.
- (A562) <d102.2> [ag _-pt pr [phr.vb.]]
Tunakuungeni mkono
 We join hands with you.
- (A563) <d114.2> [ag _-pt pr]
 chura akimbaka nyoka na kumziba pumzi
 The frog pounced on the snake and stopped its breath.
- (A564) <d118.2> [ag Cs -pt pr]
 Mzee Jaku aliwaona vijana watatu waliomtuturisha moyo
 Mzee Jaku saw the three youths who had troubled him.
- (A565) <ny15.2> [ag _-pt pr]
 Alikiweka begani kitoto chake, akakiendesha mbweu, kisha akakibadili nguo
 She put her child on her shoulder, she winded her, then changed her clothes.
- (A566) <ny56.6> [ag _-pt pr]
 adui yake alimpiga mweleka akamtupa chini na kuanza kumbigija roho.
 His enemy wrestled and threw him on the ground and started throttling him.

- (A567) <ny61.4> [ag _-pt pr*pt]
 Nilipokuwa nikimpanga na kumbadili nguo
 When I was getting him ready and changing his clothes
- (A568) <ny63.8> [ag _-pt pr]
Alimshika mikono yote miwili
 He held her two hands/arms.
- (A569) <ny65.1> [ag _-pt pr]
 Alimwona kamshika mkono
 She saw him holding her hand (and going with her into the bedroom).
- (A570) <ny128.7> [ag Ap -pt nstr pr]
 akamzungushia mikono, na kumrovyia visi uso mzima
 [She put her arms around him] and wet his whole face with kisses.
- (A571) <ny149.3> [ag _-pt pr]
 Alikwenda mbio kumshika mkono
 She [Rehema] hurried to take her [Bikiza's] hand.
- (A572) <s33.2> [ag _-pt pr]
 mtazamo wa kumtia dhiki ya roho
 A look to implant in him distress of soul.
- (A573) <s85.4> [ag _-pt pr]
 na hata kumkaba roho
 [He would be ready to jump at Bwana Msa] and even throttle him.
- (A574) <u5.5> [pr:ag _-pt pr]
mikono ikimfungua vifungo vya shati.
 [Kazija's] hand undoing the buttons of his [Mussa's] shirt
- (A575) <u20.2> [ag Cs -pt pr]
akimpoza moyo na kumbembeleza
 She calmed her heart and soothed her
- (A576) <u34.7> [ag _-pt pr]
 haya natumvue nguo.
 Okay let us remove her clothes (midwife speaking of patient)
- (A577) <u36.10> [ag _-pt pr]
akimchua mamaake tumbo.
 She rubbed her mother's stomach.
- (A578) <u48.7> [ag _-pt pr]
 Na mara amvute mkono
 And sometimes he [Maksuudi] would pull her by the hand [threatening Tamima].
- (A578a) <u85.2> [ag _-pt pr*ag [phr.vb]]
 Ndipo Dora alipojitolea kumuunga mkono
 Then did Dora offer to team up (join hands) with her.
- (A579) <u113.1> [ag _-pt pr]
 anapomwona humshika miguu arudi nyumbani
 when she saw him she begged him (held his leg) to return home.
- (A580) <u143.2> [ag _-pt pr]
 wameshafika pale chini yake na kumkamata mkono kumwinua
 They had already come right up to her and grasped her arms to pull her up.

- (A581) <u144.3> [ag _-pt pr]
 mimi babaako nakushika miguu
 I your father am begging you (holding your feet).

=====

Transitive affective constructions with patient specified finally

- (A582) <d48.6> [ag _-pt pr pt [phr.vb.]]
kuwaunga mkono watu watatu
 To unite three people (lit. join hands).
- (A583) <ny56.2> [ag _-pt pr pt]
 Kidawa alimshika mkono mgeni wake
 Kidawa held his guest's hand.
- (A584) <ny74.2> [ag _-pt pr pt]
 akanyanyuka na kumshika mkono Rehema
 He sat up and took hold of Rehema's hand.
- (A585) <ny114.2> [ag _-pt pr pt]
 alisema Rehema huku amemshika mkono Bikiza
 ... said Rehema as she was holding Bikiza's hand (to help her over a log).
- (A586) <s56.2> [ag _-pt pr pt]
 Bwana Msa alimshika mkono Spekta Seif
 Bwana Msa took hold of Inspector Seif's hand (and led him to the crater)
- (A587) <u9.18> [ag _-pt pr pt]
akamkamata mkono Mussa
 she [Kazija] took hold of Mussa's hand
- (A588) <u39.1> [ag _-pt pr pt]
akimshika bega Maimuna,
 Taking hold of her shoulders (to coax her to stop crying)
- (A589) <u39.1> [ag _-pt pr pt]
 Farashuu alimshika mkono Maimuna.
 Farashuu held Maimuna's hand (to take her to see Bi Tamima and the new born child)
- (A590) <u54.4> [ag _-pt pr pt]
 Biti Kocho alimkamata mkono Tamima.
 Biti Kocho held Tamima's hand.
- (A591) <u64.3> [ag _-pt pr pt]
 Mama Jeni alimvuta mkono Maimuna,
 Mama Jeni pulled Maimuna up by the hand (coaxing her up).
- (A592) <u142.8> [ag _-pt pr pt]
 Maimuna alimvuta bega Kijakazi.
 Maimuna tugged at Kijakazi's shoulder.

=====

Transitive affective constructions with patient postverbally

- (A593) <ny8.2> [ag _-pt pt pr*]
 ili kuwafunika watu macho yao
 In order to close the eyes of people. [Fuad's father-in-law, formerly owner of Ramwe, was left in charge as foreman for appearance's sake when the mortgage was forfeit]
- (A594) <s81.2> [ag _-pt pt th]
 Bw. Hafifu alimkata Saidi pesa katika mshahara wake
 Bwana Hafifu reduced the money on Saidi's salary

- (A594a) <d21.7> [ag _-pt pt pr]
walimfunga dada miguu na mikono
 They tied my sister's hands and feet.

=====

Transitive affective: passive variation

- (A595) <d53.1> [pt Ps pr ag/n]
alikatwa maneno na Kumba
 His words were cut off by Kumba.

- (A596) <d114.2> [pt Ps ag/n pr]
nyoka anapozibwa pumzi na chura
 When the snake's breath was blocked by the frog.

- (A597) <ny63.9> [pr* Ps pr**ag/n]
shavu lake lililoguswa na midomo ya Mansuri
 Her cheek which was touched by Mansuri's lips.

- (A598) <ny144.1> [pr* Ps pr*ag/n]
Pumzi zake za kusemea zilizokatizwa na shindo la ngumi ya Bwana Mudiri
hakuzipata tena
 Her breath to speak which was stopped by the sound of the Judge's fist (on the table) she never recovered.

=====

Transitive affective: reciprocal variation

- (A599) <d100.7> [ag Rc pr]
tumekamatana mikono
 We have grasped each other's hands.

- (A600) <u128.7> [ag Rc pr]

Walisameheana kimoyomoyo
 they forgave each other in their heart.

=====

Transitive affective constructions with theme replacing agent

- (A601) <d3.2> [th _-pt pr]
 [vita vya mpakani pamoja na safari nyingi za nchi mbalimbali alizozifanya
 pale alipokuwa baharia katika mameli makubwa,] zilimfumbua macho [na
 kumfunza kuuliza kwa nini na kwa sababu gani]
 [His many wars and journeys] opened his eyes [and taught him to ask why
 and for what reason].

- (A602) <d64.3> [th _-pt pr]
uvumilivu ulianza kumgeuza roho
 Longsuffering started turning his heart around.

- (A603) <ny28.1> [th _-pt pr]
Njaa ilikuwa ikimtafuna matumbo.
 Hunger was gnawing at her stomach.

- (A604) <s40.2> [th Cs -pt pr*]
matatizo yake yaliyomshughulisha roho yake
 Her troubles which preoccupied her mind.

- (A605) <u56.5> [th Cs -pt pr]
kicheko cha kitisho, kilichozidi kumtuturisha moyo Maimuna.
 A frightening laugh, which made Maimuna's heart beat even more.

- (A606) <u79.4> [th _-pt pr]
Kofi zile chache zilizopigwa zilimvunja moyo
Those few claps broke his heart.
- (A607) <u106.1> [th _-pt pr pt]
Siku hizi sala ndiyo jambo la pekee linalomtakasa moyo Maksuudi
These days praying indeed is the only issue which cleanses Maksuudi's heart.
- (A608) <u117.1> [th _-pt pr]
Desturi hiyo ilimvaa na kumwia tabia toka alipofululiza kwenda senema.
This habit [of doing her household chores] became a habit for her since she started going to the cinema continuously.
- (A609) <u147.2> [th _-pt pr]
Leo dunia imeshamwacha mkono,
Today the world has already let go her hand.
- (A610) <u152.6> [th _-pt pr pt]
Hilo lilimharibu akili yule kijana ambaye alisita kutengeneza nyavu.
[Maimuna's greetings] destroyed that youth's mind who paused in mending his nets.
- (A611) <u154.9> [th _-pt pr]
Ulimwengu umenitoa woga
The world has removed my fear.
- (A612) <u164.15> [th _-pt th]
Ulevi ulimtia wazimu
Drunkenness implanted madness in her.
- (A612a) <ny39.1> [th Ap pr/l]
alifuta maji yaliyomwaikia usoni
She wiped the water which was dripping from her face.
- (A612b) <u159.6> [th Cs pr*]
[upepo] Ulivuma kwa nguvu na kupeperusha nguo zao.
The wind was blowing strongly and flapping their clothes.
- =====
- Transitive constructions with patient expressed by possessive*
- (A613) <d2.8> [ag _-pr pr*pt]
walikivuruga kichwa changu
They knocked my head about.
- (A614) <d2.8> [ag _ pr*pt]
waliparaganya ubongo wangu
They confused my brain.
- (A615) <d53.5> [pr**ag _ pr**pt/l]
Jicho la Bakari lilianguka usoni pa Kumba
Bakari's eye fell on Kumba's face.
- (A616) <d69.3> [ag _ pr*pt]
aliacha kukanda mkono wa mgonjwa
He stopped rubbing the hand of the invalid.
- (A617) <d69.5> [ag _ pr*pt]
Pandu alipeleka mkono kwenye macho yake akayafumba,
Pandu directed his hand to her eyes which he closed them.
- (A618) <d77.1> [ag _-pr pr*pt]
kisha alilivutavuta shati lake
Then she pulled at his shirt and put it tidy.

- (A619) <d95.7> [ag _ pr**pt]
 bibi aling'ang'ania miguu ya Fumu
 The woman clung on to Fumus legs [to stop him from attacking Fauz.]
- (A620) <d120.3> [th _ pr*]
 singe ya bunduki ilichoma kifuni pa Inspekta Farouk, ikapenya moyo wake
 na kuugawa sawasawa
 It pierced his heart and divided it equally [into two]
- (A621) <ny19.1> [ag _ pr**pt]
 huku akiutafuta uso wa Aziza alioufudikiza kifuni
 As she sought Aziza's face which she had buried in her chest. (lit. she faced
 down on her chest.
- (A622) <ny52.6> [th _ pr*]
 Hakika kioo kinaweza kuugeuza moyo wa mtu
 Surely the mirror is able to convert the heart of a person's heart.
- (A623) <ny57.1> [ag _-pr pr*pt]
akaukumbatia mkono wake
 She clasped his hand (to congratulate him).
- (A624) <ny59.2> [ag _ pr*pt]
 Chiku peke yake alitosha kuining'iniza roho ya mtu
 Only Chiku was capable of single handedly keeping a man's heart in
 suspense.
- (A625) <ny85.2> [ag _ pr*pt]
 huku akipapasa kichwa cha Rehema
 As she stroked Rehema's head.
- (A626) <ny95.2> [ag _ pr*pt]
 Rehema aliishika mikono migumu ya Sulubu
 Rehema held Sulubu's rough hands.
- (A627) <ny109.5> [ag _-pr pr*pt]
 Rehema alizidi kusogea chini ya Sulubu na kulishika bega lake
 Rehema drew even closer to Sulubu and held his shoulder.
- (A628) <ny164.5> [ag _-pr pr*pt]
 Karim alisogea na kuushika mkono wa Salma
 Karim drew near and held Salma's hand.
- =====
- Transitive constructions with patient implicit*
- (A629) <d65.2> [ag _ pr(*pt) pr(*pt)/p]
Akaifuata hiyo damu kutoka mdomoni
 He traced the blood from her mouth [with his handkerchief].
- (A630) <ny83.4> [ag _ pr(*pt)]
akiushika mkono uliojaa malaika kuubusu
 She took his hairy hand to kiss it.
- (A631) <ny134.4> [ag _ pr(*pt)]
 Rehema aliikumbukia sura ile
 Rehema remembered that face, (though she couldn't remember where or
 when).
- (A631a) <ny94.3> [ag _-pr pr(*pt)]
 na mara tu alipouona mgongo mweusi...
 And the moment she saw a black back... (she recognised Sulubu)

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Transitive constructions with property associated with agent

- (A632) <d50.2> [ag Ap -pt pr*ag]
alimpungia mkono
 [Someone] waved at him.
- (A633) <d51.1> [ag Ap -pt pr*ag pt]
alimtupia jicho Mzee Silima
 He glanced at Mzee Silima. (lit. threw eye at)
- (A634) <d83.16> [ag Ap -pt pr pt]
 *na kumtupia jicho la hamaki Lalji
 And threw a glance [lit. eye] of hatred at Lalji.
- (A635) <d91.12> [ag <pr*ag> Ap -pt]
macho kayatoa na kumkodolea Kitwana kama ndiye aliyeitia moto konde yake
 He raised his eyes and stared at Kitwana as if it was he who had set fire to his plot.
- (A636) <d104.6> [ag _-pt pr*ag/k]
 unaweza kumbaka kwa mkono na kumfikicha kwa vidole viwili
 You can seize it [bee] by the hand and hide him by two fingers.
- (A637) <ny2.7> [ag Ap -pt pr*ag]
 huku akimtupia jicho mkewe
 As he looked at his wife.
- (A638) <ny7.3> [ag Ap -pt pr]
 na mbele yake mauti yamemkunjulia mikono kumkaribisha
 And in front of him death had unfolded its arms to welcome him.
- (A639) <ny19.4> [ag _-pt pr*ag/l]
 [kijukuu] alipokishika mikononi
 When she held her grandchild in her arms.
- (A640) <ny22.2> [ag _-pt pr*ag]
 Baba yake alimtia jichoni kwa nadra tu
 She scarcely saw her father. (lit. her father put her in his eyes only rarely)
- (A641) <ny48.5> [ag Ap -pt pr*ag]
kumkodolea mumewe macho yote aliyo nayo
 She stared at her husband with every eye she possessed.
- (A642) <ny70.1> [ag Ap pt pr*ag]
 akitabasamu na kupungia watu mikono
 He smiled and waved at the people.
- (A643) <ny94.6> [ag _ pr*ag pr*pt [phr.vb]]
akaukodolea macho uso mgeni uliomwinamia
 She stared at the strange face which was raised towards her.
- (A644) <ny112.3> [ag Ap -pt pr]
 alisema Bikiza huku akimtupia jicho Mzee Pongwa
 ...said Bikiza as she threw a glance at Mzee Pongwa.
- (A645) <ny128.7> [ag Ap -pt pr]
akamzungushia mikono
 She put her arms around him.
- (A646) <ny132.2> [ag Ap -pt pr*ag/l]
 akamchukua na kumkumbatia mikononi
 She picked (her baby) up and embraced him with her arms.

- (A647) <s11.6> [ag Ap -pt pr*ag]
 huku kamtulizia macho kumtazama.
 Setting his eyes on him to look at him.
- (A648) <s20.6> [ag Ap -pt pr]
 huku anamtupia jicho la siri kumtazama usoni
 As he stole a glance at her face. (lit. throwing her a secret eye)
- (A649) <s23.3> [ag Ap -pt pr*ag pt]
akamtulizia jicho Bwana Msa
 Settling her eye on Bwana Msa.
- (A650) <s42.4> [ag Ap -pt pr*ag]
 Mwanatenga alimtupia jicho Bwana Msa ubavuni kwake,
 Mwanatenga glanced at (lit. threw eye at) Bwana Msa at her side
- (A651) <s55.1> [ag Ap -pt pr*ag]
 huku akimtupia jicho la kumuaua
 Throwing him a glance to weigh him up.
- (A652) <s77.1> [ag <pr> Ap -pt]
 dunia imemwinamia na uso inemkunja!
 The world had looked down on him and frowned at him
- (A653) <s104.5> [ag Ap -pt pr]
 na akimtikisia kichwa
 She shook her head at him (in encouragement).
- (A654) <u52.5> [ag _-pt pr*ag/l]
Akamficha mgongoni pake ili kumkinga
 She hid her at her back in order to protect her
- (A655) moved to A578a
- (A656) <u104.1> [ag _-pt pr*ag/l]
Aliwavuta akilini
 He recalled (pulled) them in his mind (i.e. his maltreatment of his wife and children)
- (A657) <u128.7> [ag Ap -pt pr*ag pt]
alimtupia tena jicho Mussa
 He threw a glance at Mussa.
- (A658) <u136.2> [ag Ap -pt pr]
 Au siku nyengine humwekea shingo upande na kumpungia mkono huku
 unamwita kwa sauti ya kitoto...
 Or another day he will be undecided (put his neck on one side) and wave at
 her calling her with a childish voice...
- (A659) <u140.5> [ag Ap -pt pr]
 Maimuna alimsimamia Kijakazi chini ya miguu yake, kamkamatia nyonga
 Maimuna stood in front of Kijakazi close to her feet and put hands on hips
 towards her (as a gesture of impatience).
- (A660) <u153.4> [ag Ap -pt pr*ag pt]
 Maimuna alisogea karibu, akasimama na kumkamatia nyonga Kabi.
 Maimuna drew near, she stood and confronted Kabi with hands on hips.
- (A661) <u155.5> [ag Ap -pt pr pt]
 Alizidi kumchanganyishia macho Kabi
 She continued all the more to look at Kabi in perplexity. (lit. to mix eyes
 towards Kabi)

- (A662) <u155.6> [ag Ap -pt pr*ag]
 Kabi aliyekuwa pia kamtulizia jicho Maimuna
 Kabi who had also settled his eyes on her.
- (A663) <u156.5> [ag _ pr*ag pt]
Alimpa tena mgongo Kabi
 She turned her back again on Kabi. (lit. she gave him her back)
- (A664) <u158.9> [ag Ap -pt pr]
 Maimuna alipotupa jicho upande uliotokea sauti alimwona Kabi juu ya jabali
 kakaa anampungia mkono.
 When Maimuna threw a glance to the side where the voice came from she
 saw Kabi sitting on a rock waving at her.
- (A665) <u171.4> [ag Ap -pt pr*pt pr*ag/l]
 'Hebu nipe mchi usije ukaniharibia hicho kilembwe changu humo tumboni
 'Give me the pestle and don't destroy my great grandchild there in your
 womb. (Farashuu offering to take over food preparation from Maimuna)
- (A665a) <d98.9> [ag Ap -pt pr*ag pt]
 Fumu alibaki kumtolea macho na kumtikisia kichwa Mzee Gae
 Fumu continued to look away and shake his head at Mzee Gae.

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Transitive constructions with property associated with agent (passive variant)

- (A666) <s37.7> [pt Ap Ps pr]
kapungiwa mkono
 He had been beckoned.(waved by hand)
- (A667) <s90.1> [pt Ap Ps pr]
alipungiwa mkono wa kuitwa huko kibandani
 A hand was waved to summon him to the hut.
- (A668) <u128.3> [pt Ap Ps pr*x]
 Pale Maksiudi alipokuwa akitiwa damu,
 When Maksiudi was given blood./When he had a blood transfusion.

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Transitive affective constructions with locative property

- (A669) moved to A514a
- (A670) <u59.2> [pr/l, ag _-pt nstr]
Mwilini kamrembaremba kanda
 He scarred her body with a belt.
- (A671) <u63.7> [pr:ag Ap -pt pr/l]
 Alipohisi mkono ukimtambalia mgongoni
 She felt a hand tapping her on the back.
- (A672) <u172.4> [ag Ap -pt pr/l]
 ila ni shetani kanisimamia usoni,
 Only it was satan who stood before me.
- (A673) <u175.2> [ag Ap -pt pr/l]
 Alikata roho huku akipunga mikono kama wewe daima ulimsimamia usoni
 pake.
 He died waving his hand as if you were always standing in front of him (lit.
 in his face).
- (A674) <u175.3> [ag _ pt pr*pt/l]
 Tena alimwangelia Mussa machoni mwake
 Then she looked at Mussa in the eye.

=====

Transitive constructions involving maneno "words"

(A675) <d8.2> [pr*ag _-pt mnr [Pr=maneno]]
 aliuma meno na kusikiliza uchungu wa maneno ya Fumu ukimpanda na
kumteremka upesi upesi

He gritted his teeth and hearing the bitterness of Fumu's words which
 churned up and down very quickly within him.

(A676) <d20.6> [pr*ag _-pt pr/l [Pr=maneno]]
 Ilikuwa kama maneno ya Kazija yalimfuma kifuani na kumpenya moyoni
 It was as if Kazija's words pierced his chest and entered into his heart.

(A677) <d20.6> [pr _ pr/n pr*/l [V=Ps] [Pr=maneno]]
 na baadaye [maneno] yakachukuliwa na mkondo wa damu hadi masikioni
 pake ambapo yalingonga tena na tena, mfululizo.

And then her words were borne by the flow of blood as far as his ears where
 they battered him again and again repeatedly.

(A678) <d20.6> [pr _-pt pr/l [Pr=maneno]]
 na baadaye [maneno] yakachukuliwa na mkondo wa damu hadi masikioni
 pake ambapo yalingonga tena na tena, mfululizo.

And then her words were borne by the flow of blood as far as his ears where
 they battered him again and again repeatedly.

(A679) <d21.6> [pr _-pt pr/l [Pr=maneno]]
maneno yale yalimparamia, yakampenya masikioni, yakamkereketa moyoni
 The words buffeted him, penetrated his ears and upset his heart.

(A680) <d84.4> [ag _ pr**x pr*/l [Pr=maneno]]
 *sasa aliyasikia maneno ya Farouk waziwazi masikioni mwake
 Now she heard Farouk's words clearly in her ears.

(A681) <u28.1> [pr _-pt [Pr=maneno]]
Maneno ya Biti Kocho yamemfika
 The words of Biti Kocho got to her

(A682) <u161.6> [pr*ag _ pr* pt/l]
 Yale maneno ya Kabi yalikuwa yakichimba machozi kwenye chemchem
 yake

The words of Kabi were bringing (digging) tears from their spring.

(A682a) <d97.1> [pr*ag _-pt pr/l mnr]
 Kila alivyokaa alisikia maneno ya Mzee Gae yakimgonga masikioni
 waziwazi:

However he sat he heard Mzee Gae's words drumming clearly in his ears.

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Miscellaneous transitive constructions with agent, patient & property

(A683) <d29.5> [ag _ pr*ag pr*pt/l]
Akanyoosha kono lake hadi kwenye kidevu cha mumewe na kumwinua uso
 She stretched out her hand towards her husband's chin and raised his face.

(A684) <d46.6> [ag _ pr*ag pr**pt/l]
 Shomari alitua mkono wake kwenye bega la Bakari
 Shomari put [rested] his hand on Bakari's shoulder.

(A685) <d69.3> [pr*ag _ pr*pt]
 akihihi baridi ya barafu kwenye mkono wake wa kushoto uliokanda miguu
 He felt ice cold in his left hand which was rubbing her legs.

- (A686) <d69.3> [pr*ag _ pr*pt]
 na ujoto kwenye mkono wake wa kulia uliokanda kifua cha mgonjwa
 And the heat in his right hand which was rubbing the invalid's chest.
- (A687) <d69.5> [ag _ pr*ag pr*pt/l]
 Pandu alipeleka mkono kwenye macho yake akayafumba,
 Pandu directed his hand to her eyes which he closed them.
- (A688) <d95.11> [pr*ag _ pr*pt/l]
 Lakini mkono wake ulikwama kwenye bega la Mzee Gae,
 but his hand came to rest on Mzee Gae's shoulder.
- (A689) <ny26.6> [pr:ag Ap -pt]
 Alikodoa macho aione vyema sura iliyomwinamia
 She focussed her eyes in order to see clearly the face which was bent down
 towards her.
- (A690) <ny63.8> [ag Cs pr*ag pr**pt/l]
 Mansuri aligusisha midomo yake juu ya shavu la Rehema
 Mansuri touched his lips on Rehema's cheek.
- (A691) <ny83.4> [pr*x _ -pt]
Sura ya baba yake ilimzuga
 Her father's face loomed over her.
- (A692) <ny144.1> [pr Cs pr*pt]
Uchungu na hofu vilianza kuitetemesha miguu ya Rehema
 Bitterness and fear started to make Rehema's legs tremble. (lit. to tremble her
 legs)
- (A693) <u15.3> [pr*ag _ pr*pt]
 aliachia mikono yake pale ilipokuwa imeshika [mikono] ya babaake
 He released his hands from where they were gripping his father's (as he tried
 to throttle him)
- (A694) <u15.3> [ag _ pr* pr*pt/l]
 Mussa alichopeka vidole vyake machoni mwa Bwana Makuudi
 Mussa poked his fingers in the eyes of Bwana Makuudi
- (A694a) <ny3.1> [ag _ -pt pr*ag pr*pt/p [V=Ap]]
akamzungushia mkono katika kiuno chake chembamba
 He put his arms around her slim waist.
- (A694b) <ny6.4> [ag _ -pt pt pr]
 Alikuwa akimtaka Fuad mwenyewe, roho na mwili
 She wanted Fuad himself, soul and body.
- (A694c) <ny103.2> [ag _ -ben pr [V=Ap]]
akamkatia kichwa
 He cut off (the chicken's) head (for Simba his dog).
- (A694d) <u174.3> [ag _ -pt pr*pt/l]
 Mussa alimuinua ndugu yake kutoka kwenye mabega yake na kumwangalia
usoni
 Mussa raised his sister's face from his shoulder and looked into her
 face/eyes.

Auto-referential constructions (cf chapter 5)

Auto-referential constructions without possessive, property postverbal

- (A695) <D2.1> [ag _ pr mnr/k]
alitumbua macho kwa bumbuazi
 He opened his eyes in confusion.
- (A696) <d3.3> [ag _ pr]
 Hapa Fumu alimeza dovu lililokuwa limemjaa kinywa
 Here Fumu swallowed the saliva which had filled his mouth.
- (A697) <d4.2> [ag _-pr pr]
aliushusha ule mguu wenye kijaraha, aka ukanyagia chini, halafu ukafuata wa pili
 He lowered the leg with the sore, he stood it on the ground, then the second one followed it.
- (A698) <d4.2> [ag _-pr pl/I]
[mguu] wenye kijaraha, aka ukanyagia chini, halafu ukafuata wa pili
 He lowered the leg with the sore, he stood it on the ground, then the second one followed it.
- (A699) <d8.2> [ag _ pr]
aliuma meno
 He gritted his teeth.
- (A700) <d21.6> [ag _ pr]
Fumu aliuma meno
 Fumu clenched his teeth.
- (A701) <d34.8> [ag _ pr]
 Mzee Fuko alipwesapwesa macho
 Mzee Fuko twitched his eyes.
- (A702) <d43.8> [ag _ pr]
 kijana aliyefumbua macho katika ulimwengu
 A youngster who had opened his eyes on the world.
- (A703) <d48.8> [ag _ pr]
alitupa macho
 He cast a glance (lit. threw eye).
- (A704) <d49.16> [ag _ pr]
 Bakari ainue mkono wake kuziba pua.
 Bakari lifted his hand to block his nose.
- (A705) <d50.2> [ag _ pr mnr/k]
alitema mate kwa uchungu
 He spat with bitterness.
- (A706) <d52.3> [ag _ pr]
anakokota miguu na kupunga mkono
 He drags his legs and waves his hand.
- (A707) <d53.5> [ag _ pr]
Akameza mate
 He swallowed saliva.
- (A708) <d54.1> [ag _ pr]
 Kumba kauma meno.
 Kumba clenched his teeth.

- (A709) <d54.1> [ag _ pr]
 Shomari kakamata kichwa.
 Shomari was holding his head.
- (A710) <d54.3> [ag _ pr]
 Mbwana alimeza mate.
 Mbwana swallowed saliva.
- (A711) <d55.3> [ag _ pr pl mnr/k]
akainua mkono juu kwa hasira,
 He raised up his hand in anger.
- (A712) <d56.2> [ag _ pr mnr]
alitupa jicho huku na huku
 He glanced here and there.
- (A713) <d57.8> [ag _ pr]
Alitikisa kichwa
 He shook his head
- (A714) <d57.8> [ag _ pr mnr]
 [Alitikisa kichwa] huku akitupa mikono ovyo kama zisiyemtoshia
 [He shook his head] and at the same time made an aimless gesture as if these
 things were not enough for him.
- (A715) <d58.11> [_ pr <ag>]
 'Ahhhh!' alishusha pumzi Pandu
 'Ahhh!' sighed Pandu. (lit. lowered breath)
- (A716) <d58.11> [ag _ pr]
akageuza uso.
 He turned his face.
- (A717) <d58.12> [ag _ pr]
'Usishushe pumzi,
 Do not sigh.
- (A718) <d60.7> [ag _ pr]
 Pandu alitikisa kichwa
 Pandu shook his head.
- (A719) <d61.7> [ag _ pr]
akafuta machozi.
 He wiped his tears.
- (A720) <d64.2> [ag _ pr]
 'Kkon ! Kkon ! ' llikuwa kama aliyekohoa akinanuka kifua.
 'Kkon ! Kkon ! It was as if she convulsed her chest while she coughed.
- (A721) <d65.1> [ag _ pr]
Alimeza mate
 She swallowed saliva.
- (A722) <d69.3> [ag _ pr mnr]
 Pandu aliyekuwa akilia machozi njia mbilimbili
 Pandu who was crying tears in two streams.
- (A723) <d75.7> [ag _ pr/l]
 chini ya magoti kavaa stokingi zilizoishia kwenye viatu vya buti vyeusi
 vinavyong'aa
 Beneath the knees he wore stockings which went down inside his shiny
 black boots.

- (A724) <d77.2> [ag _ pr]
 Farouk alitumbua macho kumtazama mamaake,
 Faraouk opened his eyes wide to look at his mother.
- (A725) <d77.3> [ag _ pr]
kanyoosha miguu yote miwili
 She had stretched out her two legs.
- (A726) <d84.2> [ag Ap pr th]
akaitumbulia macho meza yake kama akiingojea impe jibu la sua lake
 He peered [lit. opened his eyes at] at his desk as if he was waiting for it to
 give him an answer to his question.
- (A727) <d84.3> [ag _ pr]
alikunja uso
 He frowned [lit. folded his face].
- (A728) <d85.6> [ag _ pr]
kavaa buibui lililogeuka rangi
 She wore a faded gown.
- (A729) <d86.6> [ag _ pr mnr]
 Sasa Farouk kakaza macho zaidi
 Now Farouk was concentrating harder (fixing his eyes more).
- (A730) <d86.14> [ag _ pr]
 Mwanaali alimeza mate
 Mwanaali gulped (swallowed saliva).
- (A731) <d88.6> [ag _ pr]
 aliuliza huku kauma meno.
 He asked clenching his teeth.
- (A732) <d88.8> [ag _ pr]
Alinyoosha mkono
 She extended her hand.
- (A733) <d90.1> [ag _ pr]
 Wake walishika mimba
 Wives got pregnant.(took wombs)
- (A734) <d92.1> [ag _ pr]
Alinua mkono
 He raised [his] arm.
- (A735) <d95.11> [ag _ pr mnr]
akainua mkono kama kwa kumkumbizia upande,
 He raised his hand as if to brush him aside.
- (A736) <d96.1> [ag _ pr]
 tena akaangusha uso
 He lowered his face again.
- (A737) <d96.2> [ag _ pr]
 Watu walishusha pumzi
 The people breathed a sigh of relief.
- (A738) <d97.5> [ag _ pr]
 [alipohisi kama miguu ya mtu ikikurubia kwake] alika kitako tena
 When he sensed that someone's footsteps were drawing closer he sat on his
 backside again.

- (A739) <d99.4> [ag _ pr pr:nstr/k]
 huku akiziba mdomo kwa kiganja chake
 [He coughed continuously] stopping his mouth with his palm.
- (A740) <d99.7> [ag _ pr]
Alitupa mikono
 He threw out his hands.
- (A741) <d102.2> [ag _ pr]
akameza mate
 He swallowed saliva.
- (A742) <d105.1> [ag _ pr/l]
 Waliokuwepo walitumbua macho kwenye hewa
 Those present stared in the air.
- (A743) <d106.3> [ag _ pr th [phr.vb]]
 Mtu wa mwisho kuunga mkono mgomo ni Fumu
 The last person to join in the strike is Fumu. (lit. to join hands[with] the strike)
- (A744) <d108.1> [ag _ pr]
nikafuta chozi babu..
 I wiped my tear friend.
- (A745) <d108.4> [ag _ pr]
 alikuwa kakamata kichwa
 The [Commissioner] was holding his head.
- (A746) <d116.9> [ag _ pr]
akapangusa uso
 He wiped his face.
- (A747) <d116.9> [ag _ pr]
Ameroa nguo mbichi
 He had got his fresh clothes wet.
- (A748) <d118.1> [ag _ pr]
 lakini aliponyanyua mguu
 But when he lifted his leg.
- (A749) <d120.1> [ag _ pr]
 na kuuma meno
 And she clenched her teeth.
- (A750) <d120.4> [ag _ pr]
 Mzee Jaku aliinua uso
 Mzee Jaku lifted up his face.
- (A751) <ny1.2> [ag _ pr]
aliyevaa kanzu nyepesi ya darizi
 Who wore a light embroidered gown.
- (A752) <ny7.3> [ag _ pr]
Atapofunua macho atashitukia yumo katika kifungo cha ndoa, hana pa kutokea
 When he opens his eyes he will be startled to find himself imprisoned in marriage with no way out.
- (A753) <ny18.9> [ag Cs pr]
 alimkumbatia na kuanza kupaisha sauti
 She embraced her and started raising her voice.

- (A754) <ny19.1> [ag _ pr /l]
 huku akiutafuta uso wa Aziza alioufudikiza kifuani
 As she sought Aziza's face which she had buried in her chest. (lit. she faced down on her chest.)
- (A755) <ny19.1> [ag _ pr]
 Hebu pangusa machizi nikueleze
 Okay wipe your tears and let me explain it to you.
- (A756) <ny19.2> [ag _ pr]
Alipangusa machizi
 She wiped her tears.
- (A757) <ny19.3> [ag _ pr]
 mama wa Aziza alinyanyua mguu kuonesha unyayo wake
 Aziza's mother lifted her legs to show the sole of her foot. [she is hinting fuad will return to her]
- (A758) <ny19.3> [ag Cs pr]
 Kisha aliangusha sauti
 Then she lowered her voice.
- (A759) <ny21.1> [ag _ pr]
 Lakini alipovuta pumzi...
 But when she breathed in...
- (A760) <ny21.1> [ag Cs pr]
 Na pale msichana huyu aliposhusha pumzi
 And when this girl sighed. (lit. breathed out)
- (A761) <ny29.3> [ag _ pr]
Alinyanyua macho mara moja tu kumtazama Rehema
 He lifted up his eyes only once to look at Rehema.
- (A762) <ny31.9> [ag _ pr pl/l]
 tena akatia mikono ndani ya pakacha
 again he put her hands inside the basket. (that he was making, to trim the ends)
- (A763) <ny35.6> [ag _ pr]
 [Simba] akapukusa masikio
 The dog shook its ears.
- (A764) <ny37.2> [ag Cs pr mnr]
 tena akinyosha mkono
 And then stretching out his hand (to extinguish the lamp)
- (A765) <ny39.2> [ag _ pr]
alikodoa macho
 She stared.
- (A766) <ny42.7> [ag _ pr]
 Kidawa alimwaga mikono kuonesha ukubwa wa dunia
 Kidawa waved her hands to show the size of the world.
- (A767) <ny50.4> [ag _ pr]
 baada ya kufungua kinywa
 After taking breakfast. (lit. after opening the mouth)
- (A768) <ny51.5> [ag _ pr mnr]
 Rehema alikuwa bado hajashauri moyo juu ya kazi aliyokuwa akifanya
 Rehema had still not made up her mind herself concerning the work she was doing.

- (A769) <ny52.1> [ag _ pr]
 'Asante' alisema Rehema, bila ya kunyanyua uso.
 Thank you' Rehema said without lifting up her face.
- (A770) <ny52.5> [ag _ pr pl/l]
Alisogeza zaidi uso chini ya kioo na kuupapasa kwa vidole
 She moved her face closer to the mirror and stroked it with her fingers.
- (A771) <ny52.5> [ag _ pr]
 Lakini aliponyanyua macho kuzitazama nywele zake
 But when she raised her eyes to look at her hair...
- (A772) <ny53.4> [ag _ pr]
 Ruzuna ndiye aliyemkumbusha kuwa kavaa kanzu mpya
 It was Ruzuna who recognised that she was wearing a new gown.
- (A773) <ny56.5> [ag Ap pr]
akamgeuzia uso uliosawijika na kumkomesha kwa 'Tazama lako'
 She turned towards her with a scowling face and stopped her with a 'mind
 your own business' look.
- (A774) <ny56.6> [ag _ pr pl/l]
 hali kavaa kanga kiunoni
 [One of Chiku's admirers had got into the dispute] wearing [only] a cloth
 around his waist.
- (A775) <ny57.1> [ag _ pr]
 huku wamening'iniza miguu
 They dangled their legs (as they sat on the bed).
- (A776) <ny61.8> [ag _ pr]
alinyanyua macho kuutazama uso mkubwa, nlaini, uliojaa huruma wa Bwana
 Mansuri
 She raised her eyes to look at Bwana Mansuri's large, tender face full of
 compansion.
- (A777) <ny62.5> [ag _ pr]
 Ilikuwa vigumu kuvua nguo mbele ya mtu
 It was difficult to undress before a man.
- (A778) <ny63.3> [ag _ pr]
 Rehema aliivua kanzu ya kwanza
 Rehema took off the first gown.
- (A779) <ny63.3> [ag _ pr]
 lakini alithubutu kunyanyua macho kuitazama athari ya kanzu hii kwa yule
 mtazamaji
 But she dared raise her eyes to look at the effect of this gown on the
 looker-on.
- (A780) <ny64.1> [ag _ pr]
kavaa panjama.
 He was wearing pyjamas.
- (A781) <ny65.8> [ag _ pr]
Hakupangusa machozi
 She did not wipe away her tears until...
- (A782) <ny65.8> [ag _ pr]
 na kujaribu kufumba macho
 And tried to close her eyes (and go to sleep).

- (A783) <ny80.8> [ag _ pr]
 alisema Rehema huku akishusha pumzi
 ...said Rehema sighing.
- (A784) <ny84.9> [ag _ pr]
 Alikuwa akipangusa machozi
 She was wiping her tears.
- (A785) <ny86.5> [ag _ pr]
Alipotupa macho mbele yake
 When she cast a glance in front of her.
- (A786) <ny98.1> [ag _ pr pl]
 Rehema alinyanyua macho juu katika minazi iliyopakia makole
 Rehema raised her eyes to the coconut trees laden with branches.
- (A787) <ny102.7> [ag _ pr]
 huku akishusha pumzi
 Sighing (lit. lowering her breath) with relief as she realises Sulubu's
 'companion' is his dog.
- (A788) <ny111.3> [ag _ pr]
 Alitaka kunyanyua mikono
 She wanted to raise her hands (to pray).
- (A789) <ny112.11> [ag _ pr]
akakata jasho lililokuwa likipapa juu ya kipaji chake
 He wiped the sweat which had gathered on his forehead.
- (A790) <ny116.6> [ag _ pr]
akipukusa masikio
 It [the dog] shook its ears.
- (A791) <ny118.6> [ag _ pr]
 na kushusha pumzi
 and she sighed.
- (A792) <ny132.1> [ag _ pr]
 Bali Rehema aliponyanyua macho kumtazama Bikiza
 But when Rehema lifted up her eyes to look at Bikiza.
- (A793) <ny135.4> [ag _ pr pl]
akanyanyua macho juu
 She lifted up her eyes.
- (A794) <ny141.1> [ag Ap pr]
 Matarishi waliovalia sare nyeupe
 Messengers who wore white tunics.
- (A795) <ny141.1> [ag _ pr]
 kisha akameza funda la mate lililochimbuka chini ya ulimi wake
 Then she swallowed the lump of saliva which emerged from under her
 tongue.
- (A796) <ny154.3> [ag Cs pr]
 lakini mbuzi hakuteremsha maziwa
 But the goat did not give out milk (lit descend/lower milk)
- (A797) <ny157.3> [ag _ pr]
 Rehema alilia machozi
 Rehema wept. (lit. cried tears)

- (A798) <ny167.2> [ag _ pr]
 Ambaye alisimama uwanjani akihema huku katoa ulimi
 [The dog] who was standing on the forecourt panting, with his tongue
 hanging out (lit. pulling out tongue).
- (A799) <s19.1> [ag _ pr]
 na Bwana Msa aliku upia macho akayakodoa kwa fadhaa
 Bwana Msa blinked and stared in perplexity (lit. blinked eyes)
- (A800) <s49.5> [ag Cs pr mnr]
 Najum alishusha pumzi kwa nguvu.
 Najum let out a mighty sigh of relief (lit. he lowered his breath forcefully).
- (A801) <s57.1> [ag _ pr]
 alikuwa kavaa kanzu nyeupe
 (Bwana O) was wearing a white gown.
- (A802) <s60.2> [ag _ pr mnr/k]
 alikuwa akifuta machozi kwa huzuni na msiba wa mchumba wake
 She was wiping away her tears in sorrow and grief for her boyfriend
- (A803) <s93.2> [ag _ pr]
alipinda mkono wa kulia,
 He turned right (hand of right).
- (A804) <s96.2> [ag _ pr]
 huku akitikisa kichwa.
 Shaking his head (in doubt)
- (A805) <s108.3> [ag _ pr]
umevaa njuti
 You were wearing travelling shoes
- (A806) <s108.3> [ag _ pr]
 daima unavaa viatu vya ndara
 you always wear open sandals (except when travelling)
- (A807) <s113.3> [ag _ pr]
Ukitupa jicho juu ya ramani ya hazina ile ya Kireno
 If you glance at the map of the Portuguese treasure
- (A808) <u5.6> [ag Ap pr]
 Harufu tamu tamu zilimfanya Mussa alambatie mate.
 The sweet aroma [of Kazija's cooking] made Mussa's mouth water (lit. lick
 saliva)
- (A809) <u7.2> [ag _ pr]
kushika mimba na kuzaa...kama panya
 To get pregnant and to give birth...like a mouse
- (A810) <u34.9> [ag _ pr]
 Bi Tamima ali uma meno.
 Bi Tamima clenched her teeth
- (A811) <u39.2> [ag _ pr]
 Huko Maimuna alitakiwa amtilie mkunga maji anawe mikono.
 In there Maimuna was asked to pour water for the midwife to wash her
 hands
- (A812) <u54.1> [ag _ pr]
 Tamima alinyoosha mkono
 Tamima stretched out her hand

- (A813) <u54.3> [ag _ pr mnr]
anarusha mikono kama mwenda-wazimu.
 He threw his hands (about) like a mad man
- (A814) <u56.9> [ag _ pr]
Aliuma meno
 She clenched her teeth.
- (A815) <u58.1> [ag _ pr]
kakunja uso na kurusha mikono
 frowning (lit. folding his face) and throwing his hands.
- (A816) <u59.2> [ag _ pr]
 Sasa kavua buibui
 now she took off her *buibui* (dress with veil).
- (A817) <u66.2> [ag _ pr]
kuyauma meno
 To grit one's teeth.
- (A818) <u68.4> [ag _ pr]
Maimuna aliinua uso
 Maimuna raised her eyes (face) (to look at Mama Jeni).
- (A819) <u84.1> [ag _ pr]
Akajaribu kufumbua mdomo
 She tried to open her mouth.
- (A820) <u86.2> [ag _ pr]
 Kila moja yao alifuta machozi.
 Each of them wiped away their tears.
- (A821) <u91.4> [ag _ pr]
Alikunja uso
 She frowned (lit. folded her face)
- (A822) <u93.6> [ag _ pr]
Akakunuta pua.
 She wrinkled her nose [?]
- (A823) <u94.3> [ag _ pr]
Akavua nguo
 She took her clothes off.
- (A824) <u94.3> [ag _ pr]
Alijaribu kufumba macho.
 She tried to close her eyes.
- (A825) <u95.8> [ag _ pr]
 Sasa kajikanya kufumba macho
 Now she stopped herself from closing her eyes.
- (A826) <u95.8> [ag _ pr]
alilifumba jicho
 She closed her eyes.
- (A827) <u123.9> [ag _ pr]
 Sasa kavaa suti nyingine.
 Now he wore a new suit.
- (A828) <u123.12> [ag _ pr mnr]
alimeza mate kwa nguvu.
 He gulped heavily (lit. swallowed saliva strongly).

- (A829) <u124.11> [ag _ pr]
Kafunga shore la kuvutia.
 She wore an attractive dress with a veil.
- (A830) <u126.2> [ag _ pr]
 na huku kainua mkono mmoja
 Lifting up one hand.
- (A831) <u128.2> [ag _ pr]
 Kichwani kapata jeraha kubwa, lilompa kupoteza damu nyingi sana.
 He got a big wound on his head which made him lose a lot of blood.
- (A832) <u128.5> [ag _ pr]
 Alibaki kugogona maneno
 He remained stuttering.
- (A833) <u128.7> [ag _ pr]
 Mussa ambaye ndiye aliyetoa damu ile anayotiwa sasa
 Mussa was indeed the one who donated the blood which was given to him.
- (A834) <u134.1> [ag _ pr]
Akakaa kitako huku akitandaza miguu.
 she sat on her bottom spreading her legs.
- (A835) <u135.2> [ag _ pr]
 akaona jinsi alivyokupwa mwili
 She [Sururu] saw how (Maimuna's) body was dried up.
- (A836) <u135.5> [ag _ pr]
akavaa kishati chenye vidoto vyekundu
 She wore a red dotted shirt.
- (A837) <u140.11> [ag _ pr pl/l]
 Maimuna alipiga mguu chini
 Maimuna stamped (down) her foot
- (A838) <u145.2> [ag Cs pr]
Alirusha mikono
 she threw up her arms.
- (A839) <u149.5> [ag _ pr]
akapeleka mkono na kuokota mafungu mawili
 She stretched out her hand and picked up two piles (of tomatoes).
- (A840) <u152.1> [ag _ pr pl/l]
 na alipotupa jicho upande wa kushoto kwenye hicho kibanda,
 And she glanced at the left hand side of the hut.
- (A841) <u152.1> [ag _ pr]
kavaa kigwanda chenye mikono mirefu na suruali iliyomfika miundini
 He was wearing a long sleeved smock and trousers which reached his calves.
- (A842) <u153.4> [ag _ pr pl]
 Maimuna alitupa jicho chini
 Maimuna looked down (threw eye).
- (A843) <u153.5> [ag _ pr]
 Maimuna alipasua kicheko kidogo
 Maimuna burst out with a little laughter.
- (A844) <u155.5> [ag Cs pr]
 lakini masikini kapoteza mguu.
 But the poor man had lost his leg.

- (A845) <u157.4> [ag _ pr]
Alivua buibui
 She took off her veil.
- (A846) <u158.9> [ag _ pr pl]
Maimuna alipotupa jicho upande
 When Maimuna threw a glance to the side (where the voice came from).
- (A847) <u161.8> [ag _ pr nstr/k]
 Sasa Maimuna alikuwa akipangusa machozi kwa ncha ya kitambaa chake
 cha buibui.
 Now Maimuna was wiping (her) tears with the tip of the veil of her
 dress.
- (A848) <u161.12> [ag _ pr]
 huku kageuza uso.
 Turning her head.
- (A849) <u165.1> [ag _ pr]
 Akabaki kumeza mate machungu.
 (Maimuna) remained swallowing bitterly (after hearing Kabi's tale).
- (A850) <u166.4> [ag _ pr]
 'Mkaribishe bibi,' alisema Kabi. Kutupa jicho Maimuna alifumana na
 Farashuu.
 'Greet my grandmother' said Kabi (who had picked her up from the
 station). With a glance Maimuna's eyes met Farashuu.
- (A851) <u168.8> [ag _ pr pr/l]
 akalipandisha buibui lake juu na kulipenyeza shingoni. Likamkaa mabegani.
 She raised her veil and put it over her neck; it sat on her shoulders.
- (A852) <u175.2> [ag _ pr]
 Baadaye baba alikata roho
 Afterwards he died. (lit. cut spirit)
- (A853) <u175.2> [ag _ pr]
 Alikata roho huku akipunga mikono kama wewe daima ulimsimamia usoni
 pake.
 He died waving his hand as if you were always standing in front of him (lit.
 in his face).

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Auto-referential constructions without possessive, property front-shifted

- (A854) <d91.12> [ag <pr> _]
macho kayatoa na kumkodolea Kitwana kama ndiye aliyeitia moto konde
 yake
 He raised his eyes and stared at Kitwana as if it was he who had set fire to
 his plot.
- (A855) <ny7.2> [ag <pr> _ th/k]
 halafu moyo akaufunga kwa fundo badala ya tanzi
 Later she tied her heart with a knot instead of a slipknot.
- (A856) <ny54.4> [ag <pr> _ pl/l]
 na kwa ule mguu wake mmoja aliouweka kizingitini
 And to judge from the foot she had poised on the threshold (she was
 hesitating whether to come out)

- (A857) <s18.3> [ag <pr> _ pr/p]
mkono kanyanyua mbele ya uso wake
 He raised his hand in front of his face [to Najum to keep quiet and listen]
- (A858) <s30.1> [ag <pr> _]
 Najum alikanza juu ya kiti chake macho kayatoa.
 Najum sat up straight on his chair and stared
- (A859) <s85.4> [ag <pr> _]
 Wasiwasi alikuwa uso kaukunja
 Wasiwasi was frowning (folding the face)
- (A860) <u9.19> [ag <pr> _]
Macho kayatoa
 He averted his eyes.
- (A861) <u14.5> [ag <pr> _]
Macho kayatoa.
 He averted his eyes.
- (A862) <u35.17> [ag <pr> _ pl/l]
uso kaugubika kwenye mto ambao ulikuwa umeroa machozi
 She had buried her face in a pillow which was wet with tears
- (A863) <u56.4> [ag <pr> _]
macho kayatoa
 Her eyes stared.
- (A864) moved to A934a
- (A865) <u143.4> [ag <pr> _]
Meno kauma
 She clenched her teeth.
- (A866) <u144.2> [ag <pr> _]
 Maimuna macho katoa.
 Maimuna's eyes stared.
- =====
- Auto-referential constructions with possessive*
- (A867) <d2.8> [ag _ pr*]
angekitomasa kichwa chake kama vile akibonyeza fenesi
 He would feel his head as if he was feeling a jack-fruit.
- (A868) <d47.2> [ag _ pr*]
anapangusa masuruali yake
 He was wiping his trousers.
- (A869) <d49.16> [ag _ pr*]
 Bakari ainue mkono wake kuziba pua.
 Bakari lifted his hand to block his nose.
- (A870) <d50.2> [ag _ pr*]
alipunga wake mkono
 He waved his hand.
- (A871) <d50.13> [ag _ pr*]
alivua suruali yake
 He took off his trousers.
- (A872) <d51.1> [ag _ pr*]
alivaa suruali yake
 He put on his trousers.

- (A873) <d54.4> [ag _ pr*]
kuinua ule mkono wake
 To raise that hand of his.
- (A874) <d57.8> [ag <pr*> _ pl/l]
Akili yake kaitunga pahala pamoja
 He composed his mind together.
- (A875) <d57.8> [ag _ pr*]
 Alijaribu kumeza mawazo yake
 He tried to dismiss his thoughts.
- (A876) <d58.14> [ag _ pr*]
Aliinua uso wake
 She raised her face.
- (A877) <d65.2> [ag _ pr*]
 Pandu alinyoosha mikono yake inotetema,
 Pandu stretched out his trembling hands.
- (A878) <d84.3> [ag _ pr*]
 na kufyodoa vidomo vyake vyekundu
 and pursed his red lips.
- (A879) <d88.7> [ag _ pr*]
 Bi Mwanaali aliinua kichwa chake
 Bi Mwanaali raised her head.
- (A880) <d92.1> [ag _ pr* pr:nstr/k]
Aliuuma mdomo wake wa chini kwa meno ya juu
 He bit his lower lip with his upper teeth.
- (A881) <d100.4> [ag _ pr*]
akafuta uso wake
 He wiped his face.
- (A882) <d101.4> [ag Cs pr*]
 lakini aliyafifirisha mawazo yake
 But he banished his thoughts.
- (A883) <d104.1> [ag _ pr*]
 Jamaa wote waliinua vichwa vyao na kupigwa na mshangao.
 All the audience lifted up their heads and were dumbfounded / taken
 aback.
- (A884) <d116.9> [ag _ pr* pl]
 kisha alirudisha uso wake mbele
 Then he turned back his eyes in front.
- (A885) <ny6.3> [ag <pr*> _]
mkono wake hakuweza kuufumba
 He could not close his hand [He was generous]
- (A886) <ny17.3> [ag Cs pr*]
 akakaa na kuangusha macho yake katika viatu vya makubadhi alivyovaa
 He sat down and lowered his eyes upon the leather shoes he wore.
- (A887) <ny18.5> [ag Cs pr*]
Aliikazanisha mikono yake
 She tightened her grip (lit. hands). (lest the child be taken away)
- (A888) <ny27.1> [ag Cs pr*]
 Upesi Rehema alirusha mikono yake kujikinga
 Quickly Rehema threw up her hands to protect herself.

- (A889) <ny27.2> [ag _ pr*]
Alipofunua tena macho yake
 When she opened her eyes again.
- (A890) <ny31.8> [ag _ pr*]
alinyanyua mikono yake
 She raised her hands [to examine herself, realising she had been semi-conscious 3 days]
- (A891) <ny31.8> [ag _ pr*]
 ili aushike mwili wake aone kilichosalia
 in order to hold her body to see what had happened to it.
- (A892) <ny36.4> [ag _ pr*]
akapinda shingo yake ndefu na kuupapasa upara wake
 He bowed his long neck and stroked his bald head.
- (A893) <ny36.4> [ag _ pr*]
 akapinda shingo yake ndefu na kuupapasa upara wake
 He strained his long neck and stroke his bald head.
- (A894) <ny37.1> [ag Cs pr* mnr]
 na tena akarejesha macho yake kwa hamu
 And looked back (lit. returned her eyes) with fascination (to look at the marimba player)
- (A895) <ny38.3> [ag Ap pr*]
 Sulubu alivalia seruni yake ya makunguru
 Sulubu was wearing his checked cloth
- (A896) <ny42.2> [ag _ pr*]
akakunja macho yake
 She had knitted her brows [frowned].
- (A897) <ny52.5> [ag Ap pr*]
 na alipokupia macho yake yalimeta miali ya nuru
 And when she blinked her eyes they sparkled with rays of light.
- (A898) <ny61.9> [ag _ pr* nstr/k]
 ...alisema Mansuri huku akipangusa mikono yake kwa kitambaa cha mkono
 ...said Mansuri as he wiped his hands with a handkerchief.
- (A899) <ny63.9> [ag Cs pr*]
 halafu tena kuangusha macho yake katika mwili wake kuitazama kanzu ilivyomkaa
 Then again she lowered her eyes on her body to look at how the gown suited her. (she was looking into mirror)
- (A900) <ny65.7> [ag _ pr*]
 Aliokota kanzu yake na kufunika kifua chake
 She picked up her gown to cover her chest (after biting Mansuri to stop him seducing her).
- (A901) <ny71.2> [ag _ <pr*> pr/l]
 Huku mikono yake kaikunja kifuani kwa baridi
 Her hands were folded across her chest because of the coldness.
- (A902) <ny74.1> [ag <pr*> _-pr]
mikono yake kaishika pamoja chini ya kitovu
 She held her hands together under her navel.

- (A903) <ny74.2> [ag _ pr* pl]
 Mansuri alitoa miguu yake chini ya blangeti alilojifunika
 Mansuri removed his legs from under the blanket which he had covered himself with.
- (A904) <ny85.1> [ag _ pr*ag pr**pt/p]
alifudikiza uso wake juu ya mapaja ya Bikiza
 She buried her face on Bikiza's lap.
- (A905) <ny89.3> [ag _ pr* pl]
akanyanyua mikono yake juu
 She raised up her hands (in prayer at mother's grave).
- (A906) <ny105.4> [ag Cs pr* pl/l]
 'Kiwapi?' aliuliza Rehema huku akiyatembeza macho yake mbinguni kote
 'Where?...Rehema asked as she directed her eyes all over the sky (Mzee Pongwa was pointing out the
- (A907) <ny105.8> [ag Cs pr* pl]
akasogeza mikono yake mbele ya biwi la moto
 She moved her hands towards the fire (and poked it).
- (A908) <ny117.2> [ag <pr*> _ pr*/l]
uso wake kaupakata juu ya miguu yake
 It had rested its face on its paws.
- (A909) <ny141.1> [ag Cs pr*]
 na Rehema akagoteza kichwa chake mara nne kuzihesabu
 And Rehema tapped her head four times to count (the chimes of the clock).
- (A910) <ny158.3> [ag _ pr*]
 Sulubu alinanua kifua chake chote na kukamua jasho lake lote
 Sulubu expanded his whole chest and wrung out all his sweat (in his toil to establish farm).
- (A911) <s23.4> [ag Cs pr* pl]
 Bwana Msa alinamisha uso wake chini kwa haya
 Bwana Msa lowered his face shyly.
- (A912) <s27.3> [ag Cs pr*]
aliuteremsha mguu wake aliokuwa kaupachika juu ya mwenziwe
 She uncrossed her legs (lit. she lowered the legs) which she had put over its fellow.
- (A913) <s27.3> [ag _ pr*]
akagutua mikono yake
 And she abruptly unfolded her arms [?]
- (A914) <s33.2> [ag Cs pr* mnr]
 Saidi akainamisha uso wake chini hana la kusema
 Saidi bowed his face to the ground and had nothing to say.
- (A915) <s41.2> [ag <pr*> _ pl]
uso wake kaunyanyua juu
 with her face held up (looking at road ahead)
- (A916) <s42.4> [ag _ pr*]
 na mara akurudisha uso wake kutazama njia yake
 And immediately returned her gaze (face) to look at the road.

- (A917) <s66.2> [ag Ap pr* pl]
 anataka kutapia roho yake kwenda kazini kutafuta maisha,
 (The deserted father) wanted to devote his mind to going to work and
 earning a living.
- (A918) <s70.3> [ag _ pr* pr*/l]
 Hafifu kafudikiza uso wake juu ya viganja vya mikono yake
 Hafifu had propped up his head on the palms of his hands
- (A919) <s108.2> [ag _ pr*]
akitikisa kichwa chake
 Shaking his head (in dissent)
- (A920) <u1.4> [pr:ag _ pr* nstr/k]
 Mkono unaopuna uso wake kwa shada la kitambaa
 her hand which wiped her face with a piece of cloth.
- (A921) <u15.7> [ag _ pr*]
 Akamwona Kazija akibedua mdomo wake.
 He saw Kazija was twitching her lip
- (A922) <u39.7> [ag _-pr pr*]
 aliendelea kuisuza mikono yake.
 she continued to clean her hands
- (A923) <u43.4> [ag _ pr*]
 Alikuwa anajaribu kuzuia hamasa zake
 He was trying to control his anger
- (A924) <u56.4> [ag _ pr*]
akatanua mikono yake.
 He stretched out his hands.
- (A925) <u59.1> [ag _ pr*]
 Biti Kocho alikamata kipaji chake
 Biti Kocho held her forehead.
- (A926) <u63.7> [ag Cs pr*pl/l]
Aliuzamisha uso wake kwenye mto
 (Maimuna) sunk her face in the pillow.
- (A927) <u73.4> [ag _ pr*]
Aliinua uso wake
 He raised his face (to look at his guest).
- (A928) <u74.3> [ag _ pr* pl/l]
akapachika mguu wake wa kushoto juu ya kulia
 He crossed his legs (lit he put his left leg over his right leg).
- (A929) <u74.3> [ag _ pr* pr/l]
akapachika vidole vyake vya kiganja cha kushoto ndani ya vya kulia
 He put his left hand (fingers) inside his right.
- (A930) <u88.9> [ag _ pr*]
 Maimuna aliinua uso wake
 Maimuna raised her face.
- (A931) <u103.1> [ag _ pr*]
 akajaribu kuuvuta mguu wake
 He tried to move his leg.
- (A932) <u114.3> [ag _ pr*]
Akayabedua macho yake
 She raised the lid of her eyes (to apply mascara).

- (A933) <u114.3> [ag _ pr* mnr/k]
alizisarifu nyusi zake kwa urembo huo
 She arranged her eye brows for that adornment.
- (A934) <u118.1> [ag _ pr*]
akavuta kanga yake ili kujisitiri.
 She pulled her cloth to cover herself.
- (A934a) <u124.12> [ag <pr*> _]
 huku mwili wake kaulegeza
 Relaxing her body.
- (A935) <u128.7> [ag Cp pr*/n]
 Zamani Makuudi alikuwa na raha zake
 Long ago Makuudi had his pleasures.
- (A936) <u133.11> [ag _ pr*]
kavaa nguo zake za nataki
 She was wearing her Indian style dress.
- (A937) <u134.1> [ag _ pr* pr/l]
 Halafu aliinua hiyo miguu kidogo, akaweka mikono yake magotini na
 kuinama chini kuubenua mgongo wake kwa kupitisha kichwa na kifua
 katikati ya magoti yake
 Later she lifted her legs a little, she put her hands on her knees and bent
 down to stretch her back by putting her head and chest between her knees.
- (A938) <u140.13> [ag Ap pr*]
 Maimuna alipania skati yake
 Maimuna hitched up her skirt.
- (A939) <u142.1> [ag _ pr*]
 'Kijakazi aliubebedua mdomo wake.
 Kijakazi curled back her lip (in scorn).
- (A940) <u152.2> [ag _ pr*]
Aliinua uso wake
 He lifted his eyes (face).
- (A941) <u155.6> [ag _ pr*]
 Alipojaribu kufumbua mdomo wake kusema...
 When he tried to open his mouth to speak...
- (A942) <u156.5> [ag _ pr*]
akavuta buibui lake
 She pulled up her hooded dress.
- (A943) <u168.8> [ag _ pr* pl]
akalipandisha buibui lake juu na kulipenyeza shingoni. Likamkaa mabegani.
 She raised her veil and put it over her neck; it sat on her shoulders.

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Auto-referential constructions with oblique property and possessive

- (A944) <d100.13> [ag _ pr*/l]
alisema moyoni mwake
 He said in his heart.
- (A945) <ny54.4> [ag _ pr pr*/p]
 na Chiku alitokeza hali kavaa kanga moja chini ya kwapa zake
 And Chiku came out wearing one cloth under her armpits.

- (A946) <ny114.2> [pr*/l, ag _ pt]
moyoni mwake akimuwaza baba yake Bwana Fuad
 In her heart she thought about her father Bwana Fuad.
- (A947) <ny125.3> [ag _ pr*/l]
 Salma alijibu rohoni mwake
 Salma answered in her heart.
- (A948) <s30.4> [ag Cs pr pr*/l]
 fik'ra hiyo ondosha rohoni mwako
 (If you think I am your father) remove this thought from your mind.
- (A949) <s114.1> [ag _ th pr*/l]
 bila kutia shaka rohoni mwangu kama nimesibu au sikusibu
 without harbouring any doubt in my mind as to whether I had or had not
 predicted correctly.
- (A950) <u134.1> [ag _ pr pr*/p]
 Halafu aliinua hiyo miguu kidogo, akaweka mikono yake magotini na
 kuinama chini kuubenua mgongo wake kwa kupitisha kichwa na kifua
 katikati ya magoti yake
 Later she lifted her legs a little, she put her hands on her knees and bent
 down to stretch her back by putting her head and chest between her knees.
- (A951) <u135.1> [ag _ pr pr*:nstr/k]
 Kwa muda aliegemea mlango huku kakamata fupa la kipaji kwa kidole
 chake cha shahada na gumba
 For a moment she leaned against the door holding the bone of her forehead
 with her forefinger and thumb.
- (A952) <u141.3> [ag _ pr pr*/l]
 Maimuna alipiga mkono pajani pake
 Maimuna put her hand on her thigh.
- (A953) <u169.3> [ag _ pr pr*/l]
 Farashuu aliashiria kidole kifuani pake
 Farashuu pointed her finger to her chest.
- =====
- Auto-referential constructions involving oblique property without possessive*
- (A954) <d111.5> [ag _ th pr/l]
wakikamata virungu mkononi.
 They were holding truncheons in their hands.
- (A955) <ny15.2> [ag _-pt pr*ag/l pt]
Alikiweka begani kitoto chake, akakiendesha mbweu, kisha akakibadili nguo
 She put her child on her shoulder, she winded her, then changed her clothes.
- (A956) <ny17.2> [ag _ pt pr*ag/l]
 Aziza alimchukua mtoto wake mikononi
 Aziza took the child in her arms.
- (A957) <ny113.14> [ag Ap th pr/l]
 Sulubu alitupia jembe begani
 Sulubu swung the hoe over his shoulder.
- (A958) <ny154.3> [ag Ap th pr/l]
alitupia jembe lake begani
 He threw his hoe over his shoulder.

(A959) <u63.7> [ag Cs -th pr:nstr]

akaunywesha [mto] machozi.

And wet it (pillow) with her tears.

(A960) <u128.7> [ag _-pt pr*ag:nstr /k]

alitafuta wa kumshukuru kwa macho

He sought someone to thank with his eyes.

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Auto-referential construction with reflexive verb

(A961) <D2.1> [ag _-= pr]

akajifikicha macho na kujibena mgongo

He hid his eyes and hunched his back.

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Miscellaneous Auto-referential constructions with agent & property

(A962) <d97.5> [pr*x _ pl/l]

alipohisi kama miguu ya mtu ikikurubia kwake [alikaa kitako tena]

When he sensed that someone's footsteps were drawing closer he sat on his backside

(A963) <ny7.2> [ag Cs -pt pr*ag/l]

Alimjaza tele moyoni mwake

She filled her heart with him (she doted on him).

(A964) <s41.2> [pr*:ag _ th]

mikono yake imeshika usukani

Her hands holding the steering wheel.

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Remaining examples (A965)–(A977), originally unclassified, have been moved to appropriate sections earlier in the Appendix.

